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COMMUNITY FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT RE-SEARCH IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

Findings of a Synthesis Study of IDRC supported projects in Cambodia, NE India, Indonesia, Nepal, Philippines and Vietnam

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ACRONYMS

ACM	Adaptive Collaborative Management
CBFM	Community Based Forest Management
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CF	Community Forestry
CFM	Collaborative Forest Management (Nepal)
CFRP	Community Forestry Research Project
CFUG	Community Forest Users Group
CIFOR	Center for International Forestry Research
FA	Forestry Administration
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FECOFUN	Federation of Community Forest Users of Nepal
HUAF	Hue University of Agriculture and Forestry
IDRC	International Development Research Center
IFSR	Independent Forest Sector Review
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IIRR	International Institute for Rural Reconstruction
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
JFM	Joint Forest Management
LATIN	Institute of Tropical Ecology Indonesia
LGU	Local Government Unit
LI	The Learning Institute
LiFo	Livelihoods in Community Forestry (SNCF-CLI)
LiPA	Livelihoods and Protected Areas
MoE	Ministry of Environment
NEPED	Nagaland Empowerment of People through Economic Development
NFP	National Forest Program
NGO	Non Government Organization
NRM	Natural Resource Management

NRMR	Natural Resource Management Research project
NTFP	Non Timber Forest Product(s)
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PA	Protected Area
PLUP	Participatory Land Use Planning
RECOFTC	Center for People and Forests
REDD	Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation
RLNR	Rural Livelihoods and Natural Resources program
RRI	Rights and Resources Initiative
RUPFOR	Resource Unit for Participatory Forestry (India)
SNCP	Swiss Nepal Community Forestry Project
VDC	Village Development Committee (Nepal)

BACKGROUND

RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

IDRC's program initiative in Community Based Natural Resource Management started to support specific community forestry development research projects in the late 1990s. Before that, community forestry research activities were included in many of the CBNRM projects (particularly in Cambodia, NE India, Vietnam and Nepal). It was expected that a specific community forestry focus could more effectively contribute to the development of new national forest policies aimed at strengthening local forest management, that were then emerging in many South East Asian countries.

The new Program Initiative on Rural Poverty and Environment (2005-2010) continued to support most of the CF projects, and in some cases (Vietnam, Nepal and Cambodia) contributed to a clearer focus on community forestry development in new project phases.

As many of the projects have recently been completed, and a new program initiative was under development, it was decided to commission a synthesis study of the IDRC supported community forestry projects to assess their contributions to community forestry development in the region. Many other international development agencies are active in supporting community forestry development in the region. Hence there is a need to consider the relevance from IDRC supported projects in relation to the development initiatives supported by others in this 'crowded field'.

Accordingly, the three questions to be addressed in the study were identified as:

- To what extent did IDRC supported projects address key challenges in community forestry development ?
- How did these projects contribute to the wider community forestry development movement (what was their 'added value' as compared to other initiatives ?)
- How relevant are the programming strategies underlying the IDRC projects for the continuing development of community forestry in Asia ? (See the Terms of Reference in Appendix 1 for details).

Ten IDRC supported community forestry projects in 6 countries were selected for the synthesis study.

TABLE 1 PROJECTS SELECTED FOR STUDY

Country	Project	Organization(s)	TA arrangements	Period
Philippines	Community Forestry Interlocking Project	IIRR: international training organization		2000-2007
Indonesia	Good Forest Governance	LATIN: national NGO	Initially IIRR, later some consultants	2000-2007
Nepal	Adaptive Collaborative Management	ForestAction and New Era: national NGOs	CIFOR	1999-2002:ADB 2004-2007: IDRC
Vietnam	Governance and Management of Common Pool Resources	Hue University A&F	University of Ottawa	(earlier phases: 1994-2006) Since 2007
NE India	Nagaland Empowerment of People through Economic Development	NEPED: multi agency project & State Agricultural Research Station	Consultants	1994-2007
Cambodia	NRM Research	IDRC project team(expats and local)	Consultants	1995-2005

	Community Forestry Research	Ministry of Environment (MoE), Forest Administration (FA), Royal Agricultural University (RAU)	Part time adviser	1999-2006
	Livelihoods in Community Forestry	CF Office (FA)	Research advisory team (LI)	Since 2007
	Livelihoods in Protected Areas	PA Office (MoE)	Research advisory team (LI)	Since 2007
	Learning Institute Research Activities	LI: national NGO	Research advisory team (LI)	(LI: since 2000) CF research since 2005

The projects vary considerably in terms of nature of implementing organization, arrangements for technical assistance and duration. Four of the projects (NE India and 3 projects in Cambodia) were or are implemented by staff from line agencies, 1 by an international NGO (Philippines), 3 by national NGOs (Indonesia and Cambodia, and in Nepal with CIFOR collaboration), one by a university (Vietnam) and one by a project team linked to an inter-agency provincial rural development coordination committee (NRMR in Cambodia). Arrangements for technical assistance varied also considerably, in addition to IDRC program officers, short term consultants for specific tasks were the main source of technical assistance in 3 projects. No such assistance was used in the projects with international organizations, whereas in another project a part time (but long term) adviser was used as well more recently, a research advisory team supporting 5 projects in Cambodia. Finally, another mode is the recent collaboration between Hue and Ottawa universities.

Six of the community forestry projects were completed by the end of 2009. The three projects in Cambodia that were part of a larger development research program on livelihoods and natural resources, were completed in 2010. The only community forestry project remaining active in 2010 is the upland component of Hue University's research program on governance and management of common pool resources in Central Vietnam, that includes a project working on coastal resources.

The variation in project focus, actors and arrangements reflects differences in capacity of the actors, as well as differences in the projects' strategic and operational environment. There are considerable differences between –as well as within- the 6 countries in the contributions from forests to rural people's livelihoods, the political/policy environment, the institutional arrangements in the forestry sector, the recognition of community forestry as a policy instrument and the capacity to support community forestry development. These differences influence the nature and priority of the challenges in community forestry[1] development.

Approach and Methods

To address the three guiding questions referring to key challenges, contributions to wider community forestry development and implications for future programming, the following approach has been pursued.

To identify the key challenges in community forestry development, we explored challenges in community forestry development activities, as well as challenges in the relationships between rural

[1] Community forestry is defined by the following three characteristics: "(*a*) some degree of responsibility and authority for forest management is formally vested by the government in local communities; (*b*) a central objective of forest management is to provide local communities with social and economic benefits from forests; and (*c*) ecologically sustainable forest use is a central management goal, with forest communities taking some responsibility for maintaining and restoring forest health" (Charnley and Poe, 2007, p.303).

people and forest and other institutional factors in the forestry sector that influence community forestry development.

The main methods used to identify these various challenges was through the analysis of international and national studies of forests and forestry from a wide range of sources. A selection of these are included in the references. This was complemented by presentations and discussions in a workshop with project representatives held in July, 2009, and through interviews with key informants during two case studies in Indonesia and Nepal, in August and September 2009.

For the second set of questions, related to assessment of projects' contributions to community forestry development, the main source of information were the projects' reports and publications, complemented by the presentations in the July workshop and the interviews of project personnel and partners in the two case studies. Also the comments and contributions from the RPE program officer (Hein Mallee) have been important sources of information in both the assessment of key challenges as well as of key project contributions.

The implications for future programming are largely derived from the analysis of the challenges and contributions. Additional ideas were suggested by participants in the July workshop and during the two case studies.

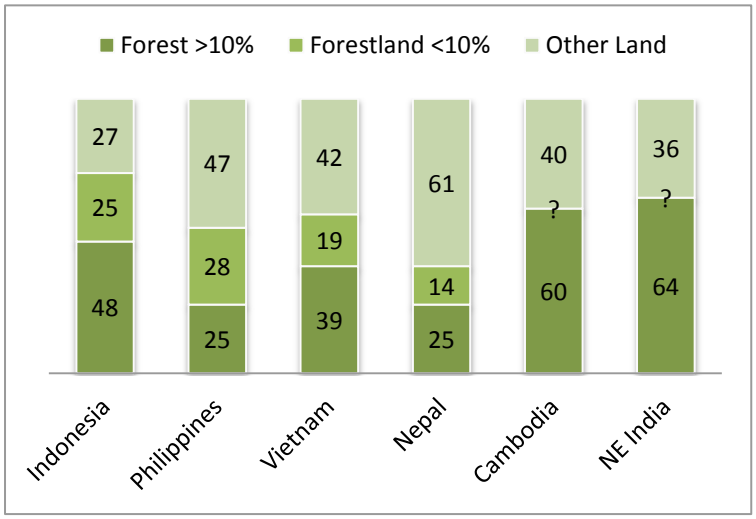
I. Key Challenges in Forestry in South East Asia

1.1. Forest and Other Land Use

Compared to Africa and Latin America, there are in Asia many more people and a much larger proportion of the total forest area in more accessible 'mosaic lands' and 'forest edges' than in remote 'forest core' areas (Chomitz, et.al., 2007).

The estimates of forest cover in the 6 countries range from a quarter of the land area in Nepal and the Philippines to 40 % in Vietnam, and around 50 % or more of the land area in Indonesia, Cambodia and NE India[2] (FAO, 2005).

FIGURE 1 FOREST AND OTHER LANDS



NOTE: FOREST=LAND WITH MORE THAN 10 % CROWN COVER

Past changes in forest cover (deforestation) contribute to a gap between the area presently covered with forest (defined as areas with more than 10 % crown cover) and the area classified as forest in the past. Areas classified as forest are much larger than the forested areas, particularly in the Philippines (25 % forest cover and 53% classified as forest), Indonesia (48 % forest cover and 73 % classified), Vietnam (39 % cover and 58 % classified) and Nepal (25 % cover and 39 % classified).

The practical implication is that a sizable part of the rural population in these countries has thereby been designated as 'encroachers' or 'trespassers' in 'forest' (Colchester and Fay, 2006). For such

[2] 64 % in NE India according to Poffenberger et. al. (2007) as compared to 22 % in the whole of India (FAO, 2005).

farmers on forest lands, the public land reform aspects of community forestry efforts are often more important than the management rights of trees. Another implication is that in landscapes with agricultural and forest mosaics, (local) land use planning, including the identification of agricultural uses of forest lands should be an important component or requisite for community forestry development (Walker, 2004). The urgency of such 'bottom up' land use planning also arises from the increasing interest in forest land for large scale commercial plantations (for food, fuel, and wood) for which much 'degraded' forest land seems to be available from a national perspective but is actually in use by rural people.

1.2. Customary Uses and Rights

Forests contribute to people's livelihoods in different ways and in different degrees. Referring to 'forest dependent people' a distinction needs to be made between those 'depending on' the forest land and those depending on other forest resources (see e.g., Turton, 2004 , for Cambodia) with a very interesting intermediary category of those who need both but at different times, such as shifting cultivators. Contributions from forests to local livelihoods vary much. As the results from a survey of 504 families in 4 Cambodian provinces demonstrate, they can be of considerable local importance: from 30 % to 40 % of the income of these families was derived from forest products (Heov, et. al., 2007).

Estimates of people deriving part of their livelihoods from forest, in the 5 countries and 1 region (NE India), range between 100 and 150 million people[3]. Many of the people depending on forest are living in severe poverty conditions that are often of long duration (Sunderlin, et. al. 2007).

Many of these forest users claim long standing customary rights to the area, some of which are formally recognized in state law, but seldom in practice (Colchester and Fay, 2007).

Socio-economic change in the wider society is reflected in changes in customary use and management of forest resources. People get access to other inputs, or to more attractive livelihood strategies, such as labour migration. Other changes are driven by pressure on the resources, resulting in reduction of size or quality of forest resources or reduced access because of competing uses and users, including action by state agencies to enforce government control over forest resources (Arnold, 1997). One manifestation of these increasing pressures is the frequency of conflicts in and around forests. In Indonesia and Cambodia it was found that the livelihoods of upto 10 % of the populations in these countries are affected by changes in access to forest resources, because of deforestation and concessions (ARD, 2006). Another study in Indonesia in 2000, found that there were about 20 000 conflicts related to forests. A likely reason is that over half of the 31 864 villages in Indonesia are located inside the designated forest area of 122 million ha, representing 75 % of Indonesia's land area (Aliadi, 2009).

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[3] Based on Turton (2004) and other sources (Heov, et.al., 2007 and McKenney and Prom Tola, 2002), an estimate of 4 million people in Cambodia (out of a total population of 14 million) deriving part of their income from forest products appears reasonable. For Indonesia estimates vary between 20 to 60 million people (Contreras-Hermillosa and Fay, 2005 and APFC, 1998), for Nepal 18 million (APFC, 1998), Philippines between 16 and 25 million, and Vietnam 25 million (Poffenberger, 2006). Add to that a rough estimate of 20 million or more in NE India (out of 39 million total population), and we get a low estimate of 103 and high estimate of 152 million people deriving part of their income from forest in the 6 countries.

1.3. Forest Policy and Institutions

For Asia as a whole, 86 % of the forest is state owned and mostly (for 79 %) controlled by central government agencies (FAO, 2006). The wisdom or feasibility of establishing state control over all forests has been questioned since the early days of the introduction of 'modern forestry'. The first Inspector General of Forests in India advised in the 1860s to establish three classes of forest property: state forests, forests of villages and other communities, and private forests. As Box 1 illustrates, he also provided sound reasons for this recommendation, as we can now say with the benefit of hindsight.

BOX 1 EARLY WARNING

"the trouble of effecting the forest rights and privileges on limited well-defined areas is temporary and will soon pass away, whereas the annoyance to the inhabitants by the maintenance of restrictions over the whole area of large forest tracts will be permanent, and will increase with the growth of population." (Guha, 2001, quoting Brandis, 1860s)

Forest departments were established to oversee the exploitation and management of the state forests so as to contribute to generation of government revenue. In some cases as in the Philippines and Indonesia, the contribution from timber to total exports was initially modest. From 1870 to 1940, timber contributed an average of about 1 % of total exports in Indonesia and about 3 % in the Philippines. Comparing this with the 20-30 % contribution from timber exports in the Philippines between 1960 and 1975, and the 18 % in the case of Indonesia at the height of its timber boom in 1973, points at drastic changes in both countries in the 1950s and 1960s (Ross, 2001).

Much of the forest area in the Philippines was converted into agricultural areas in the late 1970s and 1980s, with the Government as "the largest absentee landlord in the uplands" (Guiang, 2001).

In the late 1960s log exports from the Philippines started to decline, and Indonesia's to grow. By 1973 Indonesia had replaced the Philippines as the world's leading hardwood exporter (Ross, op.cit.). As there was not much of a forest service outside Java (where the state forest corporation managed the teak plantations) the main institutional effect of the timber boom was on the *adat* or customary law, that before the boom had provided some protection to forest. These rights were rescinded by the government in the 1970s to promote the exploitation of the forest (Bakker, 2008). This exploitation was to greatly benefit the associates and supporters of then president Suharto (Barr, et.al., 2010).

More recent examples of the effects of timber booms and rent seeking and seizing[4] are provided by Cambodia. One report describes in considerable detail "how family members and business associates of the prime minister and other senior officials are illegally destroying Cambodia's forests with complete impunity" (Global Witness, 2007).

BOX 2 TIMBER BOOM AND INSTITUTIONAL BUST

"Between 1901 and 1951, Philippine forest policies and institutions were relatively sound; yet once windfall profits became available in the early 1950s, the forestry bureau gradually lost control of timber licensing to members of congress and the executive branch, along with the ability to keep logging to sustainable levels" (Ross, 2001, p. 54).

The World Bank's concludes for the forestry sector in East Asia (not including India and Nepal) that forestry is not contributing to poverty reduction, development and the sustainable management of

[4] rent seizing is defined by Ross (2001) as "efforts by state actors to gain the right to allocate economic rents".

forests in ways that it could and should. Corruption, ill-advised perverse policies, bad governance, indifference and misconceptions result in a very low level of forest management[5] (World Bank, 2006).

Another indicator for this low level of forest management is the logging bans adopted in many countries in the region (Durst, et.al., 2001). Though 'limited institutional capacity' likely contributes to the forest management failure, limited political commitment to 'sustainable forest management' may be at least or even more important. This applies particularly to countries with a high proportion of forest (Indonesia, Cambodia, NE India) where more profitable uses of forest land do make sense from the prevailing economic development perspective (see also the literature on forest transitions, e.g., Kanninen, et. al., 2007). And see our earlier discussion of forest and other land uses and the critical importance of multi scale land use planning to address these issues.

From the perspective of the rural forest users and dwellers, the characterization of forest policy in Africa and Latin America as 'double standards on an uneven playing field' is also valid for Asia. Also here policies on the environment remain biased against rural communities, so that "rural poor must compete on an uneven playing field in a manner that (…) excludes the rural poor from the natural wealth around them - producing poverty in the process" (Larson and Ribot, 2007).

The major political changes in the region in the eighties and nineties have however also had some influence on the institutional landscape in forestry.

'People power' in the Philippines in the late eighties, the collapse of the New Order in Indonesia in the late nineties, the democracy movement in Nepal in the early nineties, market reforms or doi moi in Vietnam in the early nineties, the 'installation' of democracy and end of the civil war in Cambodia in the nineties and the virtual end of the insurgency in Nagaland all contributed to the creation of greater political space for civil society organizations and concerns.

This is also reflected in changes in policies and arrangements for public administration. Demands for devolution and decentralization as part of the democratization movements were complemented by international neo-liberal initiatives such as New Public Management. Two types of decentralization are relevant for –community- forestry. Most widespread are initiatives administered by the forest departments, in which local user or management groups are granted some rights to use and responsibilities to manage state forest lands and derive some benefits from such management. The arrangements for such use and management are usually prescribed in considerable detail through legal and administrative rules and regulations (RECOFTC, 2005). Most of the community forestry projects and programs refer to this type of decentralization.

The other type refers to the more general decentralization of functions within the government administration, including the allocation of greater responsibilities to local government (administrative village and/or district and province), often accompanied by election (rather than nomination) of local government officials. In all countries discussed here, both types of decentralization have occurred and in all cases, the relationships between the two modes of centralization are problematic (Larson, 2004).

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[5] FAO (quoted in World Bank, 2006) estimates that less than 6 % of the forest in East Asia is covered by formal management plans. The value of this as an indicator for management on the ground is questionable, as the following quote may remind us: "Many protected areas in the tropics have not just one but several management plans, each produced by successive international projects. Often there appears to be little relation between protection status on the ground and the existence of these plans" (Sayers, 1995, p.6).

The decentralization development initiatives contribute to and are increasingly guided by a rapidly growing body of knowledge, in which many of the more harmful myths about forest, forestry and local communities are replaced by better grounded insights as well as some new myths (Brosius, et.al., 1998). One indicator of this growth in knowledge is the number of research publications of common property regimes in forestry in the digital library of the commons: from a few in 1985 to 458 in 2005 (Van Laerhoven and Orstrom, 2007). Though many of these publications have been produced by 'western' researchers, there is an increasing number of Asian (as well as African and Latin American) scholars involved in this type of interdisciplinary research. This is also reflected in a growing number and capacity of research and development organizations, involved in forestry research and development in all countries.

Another set of drivers of change derive from the growing –international and national- environmental concerns. The UN Environment Conference in Stockholm in 1972 triggered renewed international and national attention for deforestation and conservation (Sayers, 1995). This formed the basis for the expansion of protected areas, the rise of international and national conservation organizations, and later certification of forest products and management systems. (Persson, 2003).

The net effect of these various drivers of change and resultant changes is a greatly increased pluralism, both within the forestry sector and in terms of other action arenas (such as local administration, rural development and environment) in which forest resources and issues are being addressed. The interplay of a growing multiplicity of ideologies, interests, actors and organizations will increasingly shape the future development of forest policy and institutions (Vira, et.al.1998). The development of community forestry can be interpreted as one manifestation of the recognition of pluralism in forestry.

1.4. Community Forestry Development

There are considerable differences amongst countries in South East Asia in the development of arrangements (local rights, responsibilities, benefits and sustainable management) for community forestry.

As the overview in Table 2 demonstrates, considerable progress has been made in expanding the area of forest that is being managed with the involvement of local groups. But the nature of this involvement in management and particularly the degree of effective control by local groups over the resources varies much. Even in the best case of the forest user groups in the middle hills of Nepal there are considerable restrictions and supervision by the Forest Department on the way groups organize themselves, manage the resources, and on the harvest and sale of forest products. As the name already indicates, in India, the 'joint management' arrangements allow for even more control from the Forest Department over the operations of the joint forest management groups.

BOX 3 TENURE INSECURITY

In the Philippines, in principle, a Community Based Forest Management Agreement entitles the community the right to occupy, possess, utilize, and develop the forest lands and resources, and claim ownership of introduced improvements in the area. In reality, the permit for timber utilization may be withheld or canceled by the government on its own volition at any time (Dugan and Pulhin, 2007)

In the Philippines, there is in principle a greater degree of autonomy of the CBFM groups, but it has proven difficult to translate the principle in practice. In Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia, the introduction of community forestry (as 'control and management of forest by local groups') is of more recent date, resulting in less impressive statistics in terms of area covered and numbers of groups/people involved.

TABLE 2 STATE OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN SE ASIA

Country	Policy Support/ Legal Status	CF Program	Results		
			Area	Villages/ Groups	Households/ Persons
Nepal	CFUG legal status; all benefits; some restrictions	Govt, NGO, donors, since late 80s	1.2 million ha[1]	14 000	1.35 million hh
India	JFM Order ('92) no legal status, ltd benefits (potential: PESA and Tribal Rights Act)	JFM (1992) Early experients in 80s	22 million ha[2]	106 482	23.7 million persons[3]
Philippines	Support in principle, less in practice, restrictions on use/management	CBFM (early experiments in 70s) AD	5.97 million ha CBFM; 0.95-1.57 million ha AD[4]	5 503 CBFM sites	690 687 households (CBFM)
Vietnam	Households and groups (tenure certificates)	Pilot in 10 provinces (projects in 90s)	3.5 million ha[5]	1203 communes	?
Cambodia	Land Law (IP) 2002 CF Sub-Decree 2003	NFP (2009) ComForProg (2007)	220 000 ha	280	62 402 hh (2005)[6]
Indonesia	Forest Act and various Regulations	Community Forestry Village forestry Collaborative Management (Java)	0.4 million ha CF (plan for 2009)[7]	4500 villages (Collaborative Management-Java)[7]	?

Sources: [1] Paudel and Vogel, 2007; Koirala et al., 2008, ; [2] Pai and Datta, 2006; [3] Rasul and Karki,2007, quoting Mukerji, mention 75 million persons (14 million families); [4] Cochester and Fay, 2007: 0.95 million ha titled; Pulhin, 2005 refers to 1.57 million ha under AD; [5] Nguyen . et al., 2008 report 3.5 million ha, mostly allocated to households; [6]Ty and Sokh, 2005 ; [7]Hindra, 2007. 6

Many relevant aspects are not reflected in these statistics. E.g., of the 14000+ user groups in Nepal it is estimated that about 70 % of these are active (Springate-Baginsky and Blaikie, 2007). For the 106 000 JFM committees in India, this is estimated at 40 % on the average (Pai and Datta, 2006) and in some states as high as 70 % (Springate-Baginsky and Blaikie, 2007). Also changes in forest conditions as a result from community forestry as reported in Nepal, India and Vietnam are not shown in the table (for Nepal, see the discussion of the forest cover analysis by the ACM project in Chapter 2).

The experiences in South East Asia (more particularly in Nepal) show that community forestry has considerable potential to deliver significant environmental, social and economic benefits. Some of the community forest user groups have made significant contributions to more general community development, well beyond forest management (Koirala et.al., 2008).

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[6] In accordance with the definition of community forestry, Table 2 refers to 'government programs' and does not refer to officially unrecognized, customary, and self initiated management by local groups. For India, the Van Panchayats (640 000 ha) have not been included. Also note that JFM, the main community forestry program in India is of limited and problematic relevance for NE India (Poffenberger, 2007). The area mentioned for Vietnam, refers largely to areas allocated to households (areas allocated to groups cover a much smaller area). Also note that the figures for Indonesia refer to different programs (Community Forestry and Collaborative Forest Management in Java, respectively).

A review of decentralization and community forestry in 7 Asian countries[7] found that the extent and impact of decentralization has been limited because of policy swings, reluctance from state forest administrations to let go, elite capture and lack of awareness or rights and responsibilities at local level. It also found that in all of the 7 countries reviewed there were considerable restrictions related to access, harvesting and transport of forest products leading to uncertainty at community level. This points at the need for further reform to develop legal frameworks that institutionalize community forestry and provide secure tenure. There is also a need to address the benefit sharing arrangements, many of which demonstrate a mismatch between management responsibilities and use rights. The imbalance between costs and benefits are exacerbated for the poor by their exclusion or restrictions of their activities (Scheyvens et.al., 2007). Also there are few valuable forest resources under community management (Warner, 2007).

1.5. International Development Assistance

Much of the international development cooperation or assistance has contributed to a greater recognition of the growing pluralism, and attempted to assist forestry sector organizations to adopt a more pro-active approach to the growing multiplicity of interests and actors.

The international concern about deforestation in the early seventies contributed to a rapid increase in international development funding for forestry development (Kaimowitz, 2000). There was a steady growth of assistance, up to the early 1980s. Total assistance peaked in the early 1990s, and then declined to about US$ 500 million per year in 2000 (Persson, 2003). Much of this assistance focused on Asian countries, particularly India, China, Vietnam, Pakistan, Laos, Bangladesh, and Thailand. (Persson, 2003).

After the focus on promoting industrial forestry in the 60s, the focus shifted to social forestry in the 1970s, and then to environmental forestry, in the nineties broadened to sustainable management of renewable natural resources.

The changes and increased pluralism contributed to the international support of forest sector planning, through Forest Sector Master Plans, Tropical Forest Action Plan, and its latest 'participatory multi-stakeholder' incarnation in the form of national forest programs (nfps). Though many of these had greater impact on paper than in practice (Winterbottom, 1991), there are also examples, as e.g., in Nepal, where it did contribute to change on the ground.

Presently, the emphasis in international development assistance is on poverty reduction, governance, institutions and the rule of law. Many projects now also want to consider issues outside the forestry sector (Persson, ibid., Arnold, 2001, Kaimowitz, 2000). The contributions from forest to climate change mitigation are emerging as a priority in international development assistance, with both new opportunities and old threats for rural forest users and managers (Angelsen, et.al., 2009). According to some observers, the concerns about deforestation and degradation throughout these different 'waves' of forestry assistance, the justification for the foreign assistance remained constant, i.e. to reduce deforestation (Kaimowitz, 2000). There is, however, very little evidence that the foreign assistance has contributed to such reduction, and under many conditions it may not be a very sensible objective (Kaimowitz, 2000).

[7] India, Nepal, Cambodia, the Philippines, Thailand, Viet Nam and China.

Even skeptical observers believe that forests and forestry have, in principle, a much greater potential to help secure the livelihoods of poor people in rural areas and to generate economic development than presently realized (Hobley, 2008). But after all the concerted efforts in the past 4 decades there is no evidence that forestry has contributed much to either development or poverty reduction (Hobley, 2007).

Failures in forestry projects are attributed to 'lack of ownership', particularly by the rural poor, narrow sectoral forestry focus, lack of understanding of the local context (implementation without research), as well as many of the other usual reasons why projects fail (Byron, 1997, Arnold, ibid., Persson, ibid., Kaimowitz, ibid). In this view, the chances for success can be enhanced by enhancing ownership, involvement of relevant sectors and other stakeholders, introducing diagnostic and action research as components in projects, etc.

BOX 4 PRIORITIES FOR FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT

=>Rural development (including forestry and dialogue at the national policy level)

- Improving policies
- Capacity building
- Strengthening of analytical capacity
- Strengthening of research
- Developing systems for learning (in both donor organizations and developing countries).

(Persson, 2003, p.xi-xii).

Another possible, more systemic conclusion from the failures of the past four decades is that 'forestry may simply be too complicated for normal donor projects' (Persson, ibid). The many different stakeholders in forestry, the rampant corruption, the need for a holistic approach, the widespread conflicts, and the strong influence of external factors may be just too much to handle for foreign assistance projects. Or, at least if the lessons from the past were taken seriously, one would acknowledge that the potential for meaningful support to forestry is restricted to very few cases, and therefore there is a need to focus more clearly on priority areas strengthening the role of forestry in rural development (Persson, ibid).

The focus should be on strengthening of 'basic' capacities, such as research and arrangements for learning and sharing. Development of these capacities requires strategic long term support, such as provided by some donors in the early development of community forestry in Nepal (Ohja, Persha and Chattre, 2009).

II. Community Forestry Development: Contributions from IDRC Projects

2.1. Identifying Contributions to Community Forestry Development

Governments and communities need to address the challenges identified in the previous section, and from the communities' perspective, ensure (Orstrom, 1999; Meinzen-Dick and Knox, 2001; Mahanty, 2007, Pagdee, et.al.,2006):

- access to forest resources with sufficient potential to provide benefits as an incentive for management ,
- secure rights to future benefits (property rights),
- effective arrangements for collective action (local institutions) to plan and implement efficient and sustainable management activities, and distribute benefits in an equitable manner ,
- access to markets of forest products (now often hampered because of restrictions on harvest and transport),
- effective arrangements or support services to assist community management groups in achieving the above.

This requires considerable change both at community level and in forestry institutions governing forest management. Organizations charged with administration of the forest estate will need to develop new processes to work with communities, to establish boundaries of the resource and the

management group and assist the group, if and as needed, in the development of effective arrangements for collective action and technical support to resource management and utilization. Regulatory frameworks need to be changed to enable access to resources, secure rights on future benefits, remove restrictions to market access, and promote effective arrangements for supporting community management groups. To provide such support on a continuing basis, considerable changes in capacity and organizational systems will be required. All of this can only take place if policy and legal obstacles are replaced by enabling policies and regulations, that change the rules of the forestry game (RECOFTC, 2005).

This type of institutional change requires:

1. Process change, referring to the systems and procedures that enable an organization to function. Both field level processes as well as organizational processes that support the field level processes (planning, budgeting, human resource development) need to be considered.

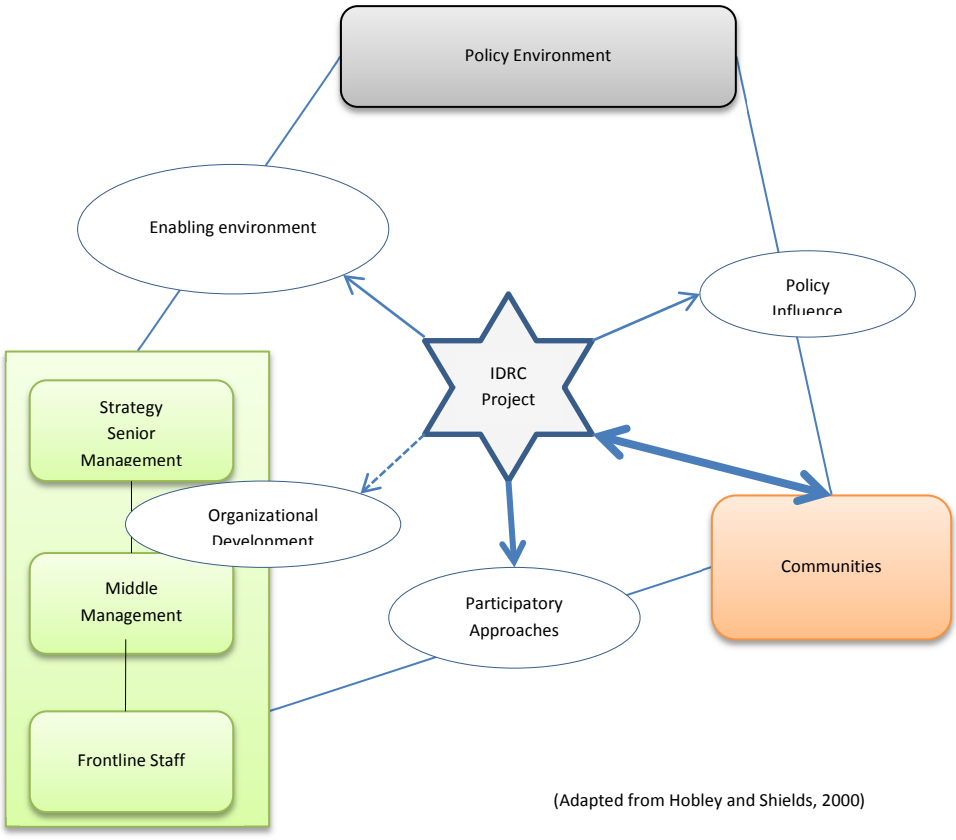
2. Organizational change (change in organizational capacity and structure),

3. Institutional and policy change: change in the rules of the game, (e.g., who and what are included in decisions, what actions can be taken in what sequence, etc.), (Hobley and Shields, 2000).

To enable assessment of the contributions from the IDRC supported projects to community forestry development we will therefore need to identify how and how much they contributed to these three levels of change as well as how those changes contributed to better outcomes in terms of resource access, property rights, effective local institutions, and local benefits, access to markets and support arrangements and services.

The diagram below provides a visual presentation of the analytical framework used to assess the contributions from the IDRC projects.

FIGURE 2 IDRC PROJECT ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK



(Adapted from Hobley and Shields, 2000)

2.2. Contributions from IDRC Supported Community Forestry Projects

We present our findings in the following order: Cambodia (5 projects), Nepal, Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam and NE India (Nagaland). For each project or in the case of Cambodia set of projects, we present a summary here, referring to corresponding appendices for more details. For the written sources of information used in the identification of project contributions, see under 'project references' (p. 38) for details.

2.2.1. Institutional Capacity Development (Cambodia)

The Projects

The 5 IDRC supported projects addressing community forestry development in Cambodia are, in order of appearance:

- The Natural Resource Management Research project (NRMR: 1995-2005), focusing on incorporation of natural resource development in the local development planning process as part of the decentralization and de-concentration reforms in Cambodia,
- The Community Forestry Research Project (CFRP: 1999-2006), focusing on developing processes and policy instruments for community forestry in forest areas under the jurisdiction of the Forest Administration and in protected areas under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Environment,
- The Community Based Natural Resource Management Learning Institute (LI: 2001-present), supporting documentation and sharing of experiences and results, and capacity building in community based natural resource management. Since 2007, LI provides research capacity development support to 2 community forestry projects under the Rural Livelihoods and Natural Resources development research program,
- The Livelihoods in Community Forestry project[8] (LiFo: 2007-present), implemented by the Forest Administration under the Rural Livelihoods and Natural Resources program, and building on the experiences in the Community Forestry Research Project,
- The Livelihoods in Protected Areas project (LiPA:2007-present), implemented by the Ministry of Environment is the other community forestry project that builds on the experiences of the Community Forestry Research Project. Also this project operates as part of the Livelihoods and Natural Resources development research program.

IDRC's support to community forestry development in Cambodia started in the mid 90s, building on its earlier support to institutional strengthening of the Secretariat (1993) and later Ministry of Environment (1995).

Since 2007, the Learning Institute coordinates and supports the building of research capacity of new IDRC sponsored initiatives in co-management of protected areas, community forestry, community fisheries and coastal resource management in Cambodia. These projects collaborate in the Rural Livelihoods and Natural Resources (RLNR) program, with technical support from the LI based Development Research Support Team (DReST). These new initiatives focus on equity and enhanced contributions from natural resources to the livelihoods of the rural poor, based on the critique that

[8] The official name of this project is "Strengthening the National Community Forestry Program (NCFP) to Support Community Livelihoods: Constraints, Opportunities and Development Support (NCFP-CLI)"

CBNRM in general and community forestry in particular had not contributed much to enhancing the livelihoods of villagers.

The main contributions from the projects to community forestry development in Cambodia are summarized in the next section. See Appendix 2, for a more detailed description of the projects' contributions.

Summary of Project Contributions to Community Forestry Development in Cambodia

Process change

Both the NRMR project team and the CFRP developed processes for the initial establishment and formation of community management groups. This is often referred to as 'first generation' community forestry development. The more recently initiated projects, such as the development of participatory monitoring, co-management of protected areas and livelihoods and natural resources action research (LI, LiFo, LiPA) all refer to 'second generation' processes. They built on the arrangements for the establishment and formation of community based management regimes that have been put in place.

The IDRC NRMR project team developed a participatory land use planning process (PLUP), together with some of the line agencies and local NGOs, to enhance land and resource tenure security, in Ratanakiri province (NE Cambodia). The land use planning process as part of the local development and decentralization process includes the identification of community forestry areas and the submission of community forestry projects by the commune council to a district integration workshop in which line agencies are represented and are requested to support the projects submitted by the commune councils.

The process developed and tested by the CFRP team in 5 different areas in Cambodia, built on the experiences from the NRMR team: assess forest use patterns, form management group, develop rules for management, and management agreement and plan. A participatory monitoring system for community forestry, developed by the Learning Institute, was initially tested with the CFRP team. The system is based on the Principles, Criteria and Indicators approach, addressing the functioning of the community management system in terms of forest health, economic benefits, social organization and external support.

Two other processes addressing 'second generation' (post establishment) issues in community forestry have been developed by two projects under the Rural Livelihoods and Natural Resources program. One is to address community livelihood issues through a multi stakeholder process for management planning of protected areas, in which community uses and needs are taken as the starting point for the planning and negotiation process. This is to provide an alternative to some of the more conservation oriented approaches in which conservation needs are the entry point, leading to severe restrictions on community use and management of the area. Similarly, the 'livelihoods in community forestry' project, investigates the role of forest in livelihoods and the potential to provide greater contributions, also through processing and marketing activities.

Organizational change

The managers and key staff from the community resource management units of the Ministry of Environment and Forest Administration, at national and provincial level, played the main role in managing and implementing the projects. This has contributed much to the enhanced capacity for planning, design, implementation and dissemination of development research in natural resource

management within key government agencies (Veer, 2008). At first sight this may appear to be the result of simple 'learning by doing'. More detailed project reviews (Gonsalves, 2005; Veer at. al., 2006) show that in all cases a more deliberate set of capacity development strategies was used.

In early 2000, the need to develop a more coherent capacity development approach culminated in the networking and case study writing activities, which was taken as the basis for the 'CBNRM Learning Initiative' in 2001, organizationally formalized in the CBNRM Learning Institute in 2005. With this support the original emphasis on process and institutional development was complemented by developing organizational capacity, with this gradually evolving into IDRC's main entry level for supporting community based natural resource management in Cambodia.

Institutional change

Institutional changes to which IDRC supported community forestry projects have directly contributed include the legal and administrative arrangements for securing access by indigenous people to their customary lands. The same applies to the regulatory frameworks for community management of forest resources and protected areas. Another important contribution is related to the role of commune councils in community based natural resource (including forest) management, and other supporting arrangements (through the district integration workshops) of the decentralization program. Fostering good working relationships between technical and middle level management staff of competing government agencies (particularly MoE and FA) is another area where projects' contributions can clearly be identified. The IDRC projects have been part of the development of more pluralistic support systems in community forestry, together with many other development actors.

Relationships with other development actors

Effective collaborative and sharing arrangements with other key development actors working in community based natural resource management in general and community forestry in particular have been a key feature of IDRC projects. The Learning Institute arose from the recognition that there were many initiatives in community based natural resource management and that there was a need for better learning and sharing, as well as synthesis of project experiences and lessons so as to contribute more effectively to the policy discourse.

It is also important to point out that the managers and key staff of the research projects (CFRP, and later LiPA and LiFo) are the managers of the community resource units in the Forestry Administration and Ministry of Environment. As such they are involved (often in a supervisory capacity) in all other projects and development activities within their domain. The institutionalization of the 'mainstreaming NREM in decentralization' is another example of the advantages of good relationships with other development actors. Based on the approaches developed in Ratanakiri, NREM and land use planning are now being incorporated in the nation-wide commune development planning process. It is unlikely that this would have happened without the strong working relationships between UNDP and IDRC in the NRMR project.

Concluding observations

Cambodia is an exceptional place for various reasons. Its civil war upto the mid 90s left it without many of the human and institutional resources available in other countries. It was also affected by the resource curse in forestry until well into the late 90s, and it is still affected by that, albeit in a more exposed manner. From an IDRC perspective it is different in that IDRC came into Cambodia at a critical time (the early 90s) and established itself as a relatively important player in NREM, with more and a wider range of activities and projects as compared to the other countries discussed here.

As many other development actors have entered the same arena, the playing field is now more crowded than it was, and the relative influence of IDRC in natural resource management may become more similar as in other countries. This is also reflected in IDRC's programming in which the entry points have moved from process development to organizational development and the development of institutional arrangements to foster the building of development research capacity. There appear to be more reasons for IDRC to sustain its support to the development of organizational and institutional capacity in natural resource management in Cambodia than for its termination.

2.2.2. Adaptive Collaborative Management (Nepal)

The Project

Over 1 million ha of forest is managed by Community Forest User Groups (CFUGs) in Nepal, with impressive results in terms of forest regeneration. However, livelihood benefits to community forest users are often low, and marginalized users –women, poor, low caste- receive disproportionally small shares of benefits.

Based on the experiences in an earlier collaborative research project, Forest Action, CIFOR and New Era addressed these issues, through cooperative inquiry, exploring and fostering social learning and innovation at local (CFUG) , meso (-sub-district) and national level.

At CFUG level the project supported decentralization of decision making and shifts in distribution of information, knowledge and power, to address gender and equity issues in the user groups. The change agents facilitating these local processes were selected from existing district or sub-district CFUG networks or multi stakeholder forums. The local level work in 11 CFUGs, with 7 meso level networks, was complemented by a national policy learning group, discussing and investigating key policy issues, such as the role and function of the national federation of CFUGs (FECOFUN), the appropriateness of community forestry versus co-management of the (better and larger) forests in the Terai (northern Gangetic plain), etc.

This project's experiences clearly demonstrate the multiple challenges involved in community forestry development, and in the fostering of social learning, inclusive governance and collaborative action at local, sub-national and national level. A process that is "characterized by struggles for power and resources, and by differences in needs, worldviews and capacities" (McDougall, et.al., 2008).

Summary of Contributions to Community Forestry Development in Nepal

The adaptive collaborative management process developed and tested by the project is an approach to enhance collective learning and critical reflection in community forestry institutions from local to national level. The emphasis is on fostering inclusion and equity within the institutions as well as developing strategic collaboration between groups and organizations. Because of the project's activities at different levels, we identify and discuss contributions to process, organizational and institutional change at local, meso- and national level. See Appendix 3 for details.

Local changes (within the CFUG)

The main changes in planning and decision making within the CFUG, are the introduction of more active and inclusive processes of collective reflection and learning as the basis for nested decision making in the CFUG. Before the introduction of the ACM approach, decisions were usually made by the executive committee of the user group, without much input from the members. Organizational innovations introduced, included hamlet committees and representatives as the basis for decision making, including selection of candidates for the executive committee and for conflict management.

In addition, action groups and sub-committees were formed to take the lead in the implementation of action plans (such as income generation groups and committees for equitable distribution of forest products). The process and organizational changes resulted in more equitable representation of women and marginalized users.

Meso level changes

Meso fora operate at different levels, e.g., as user group-, or enterprise networks, or as multi stakeholder forum at range post or district level. The contributions to facilitation of CFUG processes by members of the meso level fora and sharing of experiences from this with other members contributed to a greater understanding of the key development challenges in community forestry. Institutional changes in the fora, included the shift in some cases from an exclusive community forestry forum to a wider multi stakeholder arrangement, or from a district to a network of neighbouring CFUGs. Other changes were the creation of more explicit linkages with CFUGs, and creating more space for marginalized forest users in meso level fora.

National level changes

The National Policy learning Group was initiated under political conditions that constrained the dialogue between government and civil society organizations. Therefore the participants in the learning group were invited in their personal capacity rather than as representatives from their organizations. A wide range of policy issues were discussed in the learning group, including Terai forest management regimes (collaborative forest management versus community forestry) for which the preparation of 3 policy papers was commissioned, second generation community forestry issues and strategies in the hills, and issues in the high hills, the role of community forestry in poverty reduction, coordination of funding through the CFUG, gender issues, boundary conflicts, transparency in decision making, the relationship between user groups and support agencies and packaging the results of research for higher impact.

The main organizational changes at national level refer to Forest Action's enhanced capacity to facilitate multi stakeholder learning processes at both meso and particularly national level, as well as FECOFUN's enhanced capacity to provide support to community forestry development at meso and policy development at national level.

CF Outcomes

The ACM process has proven to be effective in enhancing equity in decision making, promoting more efficient resource management, leading to more and more equitably shared benefits. Also, the income generated by the CFUG was used more effectively for poverty reduction.

The linkages between local research, meso level support and national policy learning group have also contributed to a better identification of critical policy issues, views and concerns of forest users and policies and regulations that are more effective in addressing the issues.

Relationships with other development actors

The community forestry development arena in Nepal is more crowded than in all other countries discussed here. It is becoming less crowded though, with donors such as GTZ, AusAID and Danida moving out of community forestry.

The ACM project demonstrates clearly that a 'crowded field', can be as much an opportunity as a challenge. Though there are others (SDC, CARE, DFID) working on second generation (equity,

poverty and livelihood) issues and exploring new strategies and arrangements for community forestry development support, it is particularly the facilitation of the national policy learning group that has successfully exploited the potential of the presence of a range of development actors. The capacity demonstrated by Forest Action to provide effective support to this informal multi stakeholder group is of particular importance and represents a major potential for further development of community forestry policy in Nepal.

2.2.3. Policy Implementation (Philippines)

The Project

The community forestry development project implemented by the International Institute for Rural Reconstruction (IIRR) started off with process development through action research at community level so as to develop operational models for crafting community based management arrangements and plans. The lessons from the early field research lead to a shift in the project towards policy development.

Building on earlier work at IIRR in the organization of writing workshops, the project developed an approach in which representatives from forest communities had an opportunity to function as equal members in deliberations with representatives from government, NGOs, and research organizations. This 'linking of people and policy' approach was applied at different levels and for different purposes, including contributions to the national forest program in the Philippines, regional and national review of the implementation of the community based forest management (CB FM) program, and strategic planning of the CB FM program.

The multi stakeholder process developed by IIRR was adopted and used by FAO to support national forest programs; first in the Philippines, then in Asia through a regional (Asia wide) training program, and more recently through introduction of the multi stakeholder process in the global nfp support program, supported by FAO.

Summary of Contributions to Community Forestry Development in the Philippines

The three interrelated components of the project were field research to highlight community perspectives, developing and supporting advocacy processes, providing policy platforms for meaningful negotiations between stakeholders and development of experiential training and learning enhancing the learning capabilities of professionals. See Appendix 4 for details.

Process change

The 'linking people to policy' framework was introduced during the first phase of the project (1999-2002) and further developed in the second phase (2003-2007), in which 3 national and 5 regional (sub-national) workshops were organized, providing opportunities for communities to present their perspectives in multi stakeholder policy platforms.

Field research activities were increasingly triggered by and linked to policy events and/or the 'people and policy' workshops. The policy advocacy processes built on the field research in that it helped communities to analyze and synthesize their experiences and views, to be shared in the multi stakeholder workshops. The series of local, regional and national processes contributed to the acceptance by senior DENR administrators of the need to consult communities in the policy design and implementation process. The processes also contributed to the generation of a training curriculum and materials with national, regional and international organizations working on capacity building of professional foresters, including UPLB, RECOFTC, FAO and LTS.

Organizational change

The field research and policy advocacy work had demonstrated that barriers to community forestry were much related to professional constructs and attitudes, instilled in professional forestry education and training. To enable the shift from policy makers to facilitators fostering a learning environment, the project developed curricula, courses and materials in participatory action research. In collaboration with RECOFTC and other organizations a course in PAR for CBNRM was prepared and delivered, based on the project's experiences in field research and advocacy processes.
Other contributions to organizational development include the enhanced capacity and recognition of IIRR as an effective organization to facilitate community forestry development in the Philippines. Key organizations such as DENR and UPLB became interested in collaboration with IIRR, based on its demonstrated capacity to facilitate innovative and effective approaches to community forestry program and policy development.

Institutional change

The main contributions to institutional change are the contributions to more deliberative policy processes and better outcomes from these processes for community forestry development and the improved relationships between CBFM actors at local and national levels. Also the awareness that more democratic policy processes and experiential training and learning, with sustained active participation from forest communities, are critical for community forestry development, has grown considerably. The lifting of the suspension of utilization rights, advocated by IIRR together with other community forestry development organizations, has provided more incentives for communities to manage their forests in a sustainable manner.

CF Outcomes

The main contributions to community forestry outcomes at field level were the contributions the project made to the restoration of utilization rights and the more general emphasis on providing incentives for community management in the new CBFM strategic plan.

The two approaches developed and promoted by the project –PAR and 'linking people to policy'- have contributed to change in professional roles; policy revisions and processes and improvements in institutions and the relationships between actors.

In accordance with the shift in definition of 'the community forestry development problem' (from community capacity to incentives) and the corresponding shift in solution or strategy (from participatory management planning to participatory policy deliberation) the main community forestry outcomes refer to change in incentives and the development of more inclusive policy deliberation processes.

Concluding observations

The project's well documented demonstration of a practical approach to enhance communities' voice in forest policy review and formulation has been recognized as a major contribution to community forestry development in the Philippines and internationally (see O'Hara, 2009). The international use of the project's lessons appears to be secured through the FAO supported nfp facility.
Institutionalization of the linking people and policy approach in the Philippines would probably require continuing support, possibly through the Philippines' national forest programme.

2.2.4. Good Forest Governance and Decentralization (Indonesia)

The Project

The project in Indonesia, implemented by a national NGO (LATIN) started off as a joint project with IIRR, with a similar initial focus on action research at community level and development of operational models for preparation of management agreements and plans.

In 2000, LATIN started to support some work on community based forest management with a working group of staff from different local government departments and some members from local NGOs in Kuningan. A procedure for involving farmers in forest management was developed and tested in 2 villages. In the course of 4 years this process was refined and applied in all 134 villages at the forest fringe in Kuningan. The process was also tested and refined in the other 9 districts in which LATIN worked with the support from DFID's Multi Stakeholder Forestry Program.

LATIN's experiences at local (village) level demonstrated the need to address issues at regency ('district') level in a more systematic manner. For this purpose LATIN and partners adopted a "good forest governance" approach to enhance transparency, and accountability in the relationships between the various actors or stakeholders. The district level advisory group negotiating the management agreements with Perum Perhutani got a more permanent character and started to facilitate a wider range of multi stakeholder processes, including the facilitation of preparing village level integrated natural resource management (land use) plans. The establishment of a national park affecting the management agreements of 26 villages, reinforced the need to address forest governance issues at higher level in that it required coordination amongst the villages, mustering support from the district and provincial government and negotiations with the national government.

Summary of Contributions to Community Forestry Development in Indonesia

The changes in process, organizations and institutions as well as the outcomes, varied considerably in the three districts in which the project worked. The changes mainly refer to one of the three districts (Kuningan in West Java). The changes in the other districts (Pandeglang in West Java and Dompu in Sumbawa) and the barriers for change will be discussed in the sections below. See Appendix 5, for details.

Process change

The community based forest management approach that was developed, started off with a socio economic assessment including the variation in dependence on forest lands, and analysis of forest management issues. This was followed by formation of farmer groups (where none existed) or strengthening of existing groups. More in depth discussion and investigation of collaborative forest management issues was then to take place, including participatory mapping, inventory, development of rules and regulations, area planning and negotiation of the management plan with Perum Perhutani through a district level Advisory Working Group (comprising representatives from local government, NGOs and farmers). After agreement by all parties in principle, the formal management agreements between Perum Perhutani and the village government (with designation of the forest area and management principles) as well as with the farmer group (with more operational guidelines for management) were prepared.

A similar approach was attempted in the two other districts (Pandeglang and Dompu), but it did not work as well as in Kuningan. In Pandeglang, the local government and SFC were not really interested

in 'complicated planning processes' and in Dompu major political processes and corruption in the local government prevented any effective community forestry. In the latter district, LATIN and local partners addressed the governance problems through the mobilization of legal assistance, and the of the National Anti Corruption Commission, and the Minister of Forestry to address the issues.

The different experiences in the three districts, point at the critical importance of the nature of decentralization and demonstrate both the potential (in the case of Kuningan) and the risks (in Pandeglang and Dompu) of the enhanced involvement of local government in natural resource governance and management. The shift in the project from local planning processes to multi stakeholder processes and arrangements and other aspects of organizational and institutional (forest governance) development was the project's response to these experiences.

In terms of process development, the processes for management planning and agreements developed in Kuningan, have reportedly contributed to the State Forest Corporation's Java wide approach to community forestry development. It was noted, however, that the quality of implementation varied considerably depending on commitment and capacity of local forestry personnel and degree of involvement of local government and NGOs.

Organizational development

In Kuningan major contributions to organizational development took place at local level, through the establishment of new management groups as well the development of the organizational capacity of existing forest management groups as part of the management planning process. When the Ministry of Forestry changed the status of a forest area, resulting in reduced access by communities with management agreements, a farmers' solidarity forum was formed. A similar federation of management groups was formed in Dompu in reaction to the arrest of forest farmers there. In Kuningan, the informal advisory group also evolved considerably into an independent organization that continued to function after the termination of the project. LPI ('project implementation institute') is recognized by the district government and involved in the implementation of various projects including continuing support to community forestry development.

The other major contribution to organizational development is the development of LATIN itself. Twelve of the then 40 staff members were actively involved in the project, with other staff members contributing to specific activities such as in the preparation of publications. The greatly enhanced development research capacity is not only demonstrated by the range of project outcomes discussed here, but also by the range of high quality publications, including the final report and project publication on decentralization and forest governance.

Institutional change

As the governance focus of the project indicates, the main objectives of the project were related to bringing about institutional change, particularly at district level and where possible contributing to change in national policies and regulations.

The need for such institutional change became apparent in all three districts, in which different types of conflicts arose as a result of different institutional factors. In Kuningan, the Ministry of Forestry decided in 2006 to establish a national park in the former production forest. This seriously affected the management agreements of 26 villages. In Pandeglang, the main issue was related to the reluctance of the local branch of the State Forest Corporation to involve farmers in planning and decision making in a serious manner. The case of Dompu has been referred to already. The political conflict and

corruption, pointed at even greater problems between local government and citizens than in the case of Pandeglang.

The project strategy to address these conflicts aimed in all three cases to strengthen the farmers' voice, albeit in different ways. These different experiences lead the project to conclude that for good forest governance, decentralization needs to ensure effective community participation. The experiences in Dompu and Pandelang demonstrate the nature of the obstacles to such participation. The old bureaucratic culture with its orientation to provide services for the higher levels and it s rampant corruption, effectively prevented meaningful participation by the poorer farmers dependent on forest areas. The experience at district level in Kuningan, demonstrates the potential of decentralization for good forest governance, if the local government is accountable to its citizens, and if the central government is committed to real decentralization.

Relationships with other development actors

The main forms of collaboration with the greatest impact were established with selected officials from the Ministry of Forestry and from the State Forest Corporation (Perum Perhutani) at district, province and national level.

The relationships with donor organizations changed during the course of the project, because of changes in policy of most donors, who in line with the decentralization channel more of their support to local levels, bypassing national NGOs, and there is also a decline in support for community forestry. This has contributed to a considerable decline in the number of staff working with LATIN, from about 40 in 2006, to 15 at present.

Concluding observations

In view of the great potential of the decentralization in Indonesia to address the key challenges in forest policy and management, the importance of the work done by LATIN is widely recognized and appreciated. Other organizations working on natural resources and decentralization (including CIFOR) will likely continue to build on the lessons and experiences from the project.

2.2.5. Research Capacity for Common Pool Resources (Vietnam)

The Project

The Common Pool Resources Governance and Management project implemented by Hue University has an upland and a coastal component. The two components share a common analytical framework and approach so as to enable learning from each others' experiences and comparison of findings. Both components build on the experiences and lessons from earlier IDRC supported projects. Collaboration with Ottawa University has been very effective in the design of the research framework, the formulation of the research questions and the planning and implementation of the research activities.

The upland project intends to address a key implementation gap in the policy governing allocation of forest lands to communities. The legal and regulatory basis for such allocation has been provided, but the implementation on the ground is slow and often erratic. The project aims to identify the reasons for this gap as well as to develop a more effective operational model for the allocation of forest lands to communities.

Starting in late 2007, the uplands component focused in the first year on research to understand the situation of property rights in forest land management, community forestry, fish resources,

unclassified land, agricultural land and protection forest. In all categories the 'bundles of rights' and the right holders were analyzed. In addition, changes in forest cover were investigated. The findings from this first stage were to form the basis for the investigation of local institutions and livelihoods in the second stage, that is presently being implemented. The research results from both stages will be used to assess the present and potential role of the management of the different common pool resources, as the basis for the identification of implications and recommendations for policy development. Another expected result from the project is a tested framework for analysis of common pool resources in the uplands of Vietnam.

Staff from relevant district government and development organizations are actively involved in the project activities and research results periodically shared with district leaders.

The project's research area is A Luoi District. The district had a population of 38 616 in 2003 (many of whom belong to ethnic minority groups), with an area of 122 900 ha. There are 20 communes and 1 small town in the district.

Research Contributions to Community Forestry Development

The process, organizational and institutional change framework used to present contributions to community forestry development in the projects presented earlier is less appropriate for this project in which the results of only the first (research) stage of the project (ending in 2011) are presented.

These research findings pertain to changes in forest cover, property rights in forest, agricultural and 'unused/unclassified' land, aquatic resources and the changes in property rights as a result of the introduction of community forestry. For each of these categories, field research was carried out in selected communes, the role of local government investigated and national policies analyzed.

In all cases the research results reveal the stark differences between local practices and introduced public policies. The research also shows how both local people and local officials try to deal with these often conflicting notions. In the case of the prohibition of shifting cultivation, alternatives were developed through intensification of agricultural production, home garden development and off farm labour. The policy was also shown to be successful in that the area under forest increased. Another study looked at the change occurring after introduction of community forestry. In comparing two villages (one with and one without the introduction of community forestry) it was found that though the formal rights had changed in one of the villages, the practices related to forest use and management had remained the same, as in the village without community forestry.

These findings suggest that for community forestry to become effective, considerable change in its planning and implementation will need to be made. First of all, there is a need to better understand the existing, customary practices as well as the changes therein as the basis for crafting local governance and management arrangements.

A second change required is to create a better balance between authority and responsibilities. But even if there was greater authority for local groups, the findings also indicate that considerable external support will be required to assist villagers in gradually developing more effective local arrangements for governance, management and benefit sharing.

Approaches that reflect these changes are presently (2010) being developed and tested.

2.2.6. Developing Shifting Cultivation (Nagaland, NE India)

The Project

Nagaland has a population of 2 million, with 85 % of its area (1.66 million ha) under –mainly- open forest cover. More than half of this area is under shifting cultivation, and most of the area (90%) is controlled by traditional village institutions, communities and individuals. In the early 1990s the then Chief Secretary of Nagaland's government realized that top-down programs to wean people from shifting cultivation were doomed to fail. He decided that the strategy should be to develop shifting cultivation, rather than try to stop or replace it. In collaboration with the India-Canada Environment Facility and with IDRC support a project was developed and implemented to make the shifting cultivation system more sustainable and productive. A project operations unit was formed with personnel from different government agencies and research support from the State Agricultural Research Station. This created a strong organizational basis for project planning and implementation and enabled the project to focus on community research and development, development of operational models and creation of an enabling or supporting environment.

Initially, a simple operational model was selected (rather than developed), and applied in almost all villages. Though this lead to greening of the land, it did not contribute much to livelihoods. This did require more attention to research and development, and arrangements for extension support. And this required a scaling down of activities, first to 105 and then to 63 villages. This enabled the project to carry out more studies and testing of cropping and fallow management systems. Better marketing mechanisms and arrangements for products were explored as well. Village level credit systems were introduced. Village councils, village development boards, farmers and women groups were supported and empowered. And district support units (comprising officers from different government departments) strengthened.

Contributions to Agro-Forestry Development

This project differs considerably from the earlier discussed ones as the main emphasis here was on one of the three characteristics of community forestry, i.e, in this case, to provide social and economic benefits from forest lands to local communities. And more from forest fallows than from the old growth forest. Transfer of authority and responsibility was much less of an issue as customary management of forest lands is well established and respected in Nagaland, and the maintenance of forest health was not a major direct objective of the project. Another notable difference with all other projects discussed is the administrative arrangement for project management. A project operations unit (POU) was established by the State Chief Secretary, with representation from all relevant line agencies. This arrangement secured government support and greatly facilitated the development of organizational capacity and institutionalization of project innovations. A third difference with many of the other projects discussed is the long duration of the project, starting in 1994 and ending in late 2007. And a fourth difference is in the funding arrangements of the project, with initially the bulk of the funding being provided by CIDA, with a gradually increasing role of IDRC in project management. See Appendix 7 for details.

Process change

After the first phase of the project in which test plots were established in fallow lands of almost all villages in Nagaland, greater emphasis was laid on empowerment of the village councils and village development boards, as the key institutions in planning and implementation. Starting in 2001, the approach became more decentralized and participatory with more intensive consultation of farmers. Farmers were encouraged to plant shade tolerant cash crops in their tree plantations, including crops such as cardamom, ginger, black pepper, betel vine and passion fruit, for which a market demand had been established.

A revolving fund was introduced to support farmers to develop their cropping systems. The fund was managed by the village councils and village development boards, with 25 % earmarked for use by women. Farmers were also supported in setting up self help groups and marketing boards. The need for appropriate processing techniques to enable farmers to add value to their products, was identified and in some cases successfully implemented, but proved difficult to in many other cases.

The development of sustainable cropping systems aimed at extending the cropping phase in the swidden cycle. The State Agricultural Research Station had developed models for different cover crops (legumes), to extend the cropping phase from the usual two to three or four years (followed by a fallow period of 7 to 20 years).

Earlier work had shown that many farmers were already developing and testing their own innovations in response to the shortening fallow cycles. Seven such innovations were studied and documented, and incorporated in the design of on farm trials elsewhere. The efforts to improve productivity during the cropping phase were complemented by efforts to enhance the productivity of the fallow phase of the cycle.

To add value to the products from both the improved cropping systems and the improved fallow management, research and development of marketing systems was undertaken. Studies were done to investigate how farmers were at present selling crops such as cardamom, passion fruit, French beans, turmeric, and pineapple. In assessing the market chain, data on supply, quality, characteristics, market demands, market channels, and economic valuation at different points, transport required and inputs were gathered. The results of the studies indicated that the shade tolerant crops that NEPED promoted for environmental reasons, were not necessarily the crops with the highest returns for farmers. In some cases chilli or pig raising fetched better returns. For the value addition of shade tolerant crops different opportunities for adding value for different crops were identified. Organic certification was explored, new trading outlets established, and improved processing practices identified. The feasibility of introducing village level processing proved problematic for almost all products.

Another set of activities to explore value addition focused on the 8 million trees planted in the first phase of the project. Thinning needed to be done in many cases, but the transportation of logs and poles to markets outside the state was constrained by the transport restrictions imposed by the Ministry of Environment and Forests. Many farmers did sell trees at local markets, but many also burned them as part of the shifting cultivation cycle.

Yet another study looked at farmers' management practices of trees in fallow lands, leading to the conclusion that farmers' practices in assisted natural regeneration were likely more effective than the afforestation packages provided by government agencies. The project also investigated the profitability of timber production for the village. The result of the case study looking at this showed that most of the benefit went to the timber transporter and buyer (timber depot), and that villagers did not benefit much from timber production from old growth forest.

The general trend in all of these processes is that they gradually intensified the involvement of farmers, village leaders and village development board, and that more diagnostic research was carried out to guide the design of interventions.

Organizational development

In line with the development of the participatory development research processes, the project increasingly supported the development of village level organizations in the form of farmer groups,

micro credit groups, product marketing networks, and women groups. This was complemented by involving villagers, leaders and the village development board in the planning and implementation of activities including the support to the various village groups.

At district level a similar inter agency support arrangement (in the form of district project teams) was developed as a state level.

The project operations unit at state level comprised staff from 11 different line agencies. The NEPED inter agency team arrangement continued operating after the termination of the project in 2007, albeit with a different focus (energy development) and with less staff (from fewer agencies).

The State Agricultural Research Station has benefited from its participation in -particularly the earlier phases of- the project. Its capacity for design and implementation of more participatory and adaptive on farm research has evolved albeit in the later stages of the project to a lesser extent than expected.

Institutional development

The main contribution from the project to institutional development is the institutionalization of a participatory approach based on customary practices through an inter-agency ('whole of government') approach. The enhanced capacity and understanding of problems and solutions appropriate for the specific conditions of Nagaland has enabled the state government to successfully advocate for adaptation in the design and adaptation of national policies and regulations as in the example of the biodiversity act. The institutional innovations are well known in other parts of India and are a source of inspiration for advocates of more adaptive approaches in rural resource development.

2.2.7. Other Findings

One important aspect has fallen through the cracks of our assessment framework. A major distinct contribution from all projects has been in the form of contributions to the professional and policy discourses in forestry and rural development. Selected examples of publications from all countries include:

-the 2 volumes of the "State of CBNRM in Cambodia" produced by the Learning Institute with contributions from the community forestry projects and other CBNRM projects,

-the analytical review publications produced by the Community Forestry Research Project and the Natural Resource Management Research project,

-more recently the contributions and the special sessions CBNRM sessions planned for the Cambodia Development Research Forum,

-the publications and CDROM on 'Linking policy to people' from the Philippines,

-the policy studies and wide range of publications for national and international audiences produced by the ACM Nepal project,

-the final project publication on decentralization and good forest governance produced by LATIN in Bahasa Indonesia with a foreword of the CIFOR director,

-the NEPED sourcebook, based on the project's experiences,

-the research papers from Vietnam with their findings on the interaction between formal and informal property rights.

Many of these publications also form the basis for regional, programmatic or thematic syntheses produced by IDRC for an international audience, such as the publication on Communities, Livelihoods and Natural Resources – Action Research and Policy Change in Asia (Tyler, 2006).

III. Conclusions

3.1. IDRC Projects and Major Community Forestry Development Challenges

To assess whether and to what extent IDRC supported projects addressed which of the key challenges identified in Chapter 1, we have summarized the project narratives (presented in Chapter 2) in Table 3, below. If projects did not address the challenge in any major way we gave it a 0, if it was addressed as a minor concern as compared to other challenges we scored it 1. For those projects in which addressing the challenge was a major concern we gave it a 3, and 2 if it was addressed in a substantive manner but not as a major concern.

TABLE 3 IDRC PROJECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES

	Cambodia									
Key Challenges	NRMR	CFRP	LiPA	LiFo	LI	Nepal	Philip-pines	Indone-sia	Vi-etnam	Naga-land
Challenges in Forestry Development										
1.1.Land use policy & planning	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	0
1.2.Local uses and rights	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3
1.3.Policy playing field	2	2	1	0	2	3	3	3	1	1
1.3.Property rights	3	2	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	0
1.3.SFM capacity	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
1.3.Org capacity	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3
1.3.Knowledge	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	2	3	1
1.3.Decentralization	3	1	2	1	0	0	1	3	1	2
1.3.Pluralism	3	2	3	1	1	2	3	3	1	2
1.5.Rural Development	3	1	2	1	1	3	1	2	1	3
1.5.Research capacity	2	3	3	3	3	2	1	2	3	2
1.5.Learning systems	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	1	1	1
Challenges in Community Forestry Development										
1.4.Resource Access	3	1	3	1	2	3	1	3	3	0
1.4.Secure rights	3	3	3	1	2	2	1	3	3	0
1.4.Collective Action	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	3	1	2
1.4.Market access	0	0	2	2	0	2	1	2	2	3
1.4.Support	3	3	2	1	0	3	3	3	0	3
Scores: 0=no contribution; 1=addressed as minor concern; 2=addressed but not as major objective; 3=major concern										

In the left column, for each challenge, we have indicated the section of the report in which this challenge is discussed. E.g., the land use policy and planning refer to the discussion in 1.1., the local uses and rights to 1.2, the policy playing field to 1.3 to the uneven playing field in forest policy mentioned there and the scoring refers to the efforts by projects to level the playing field. For these challenges

identifying the project contributions is more straightforward than for some others. E.g., contributions to 'Property rights' (under 1.3) refer to efforts by projects to promote or enable community rights in areas in which these are not yet recognized. 'Secure rights' (under 1.4) refer to contributions in community forestry areas, where community rights are in principle recognized, but in practice constrained for one reason or the other. Also defining project contributions to sustainable forest management (SFM, 1.3) proved problematic. All projects worked on establishing or strengthening the necessary institutional requisites for sustainable forest management. Therefore we interpreted this contribution in a more narrow sense, as the extent in which the project contributed to demonstrating the capacity and potential of communities contributing to the sustainable management of the national forest estate. It is likely that other observers would give higher scores than the ones given by the reviewer for this aspect.

Some of the patterns emerging from the summary table above can be readily confirmed by the information from the project narratives:

a. the challenges that were least addressed by the IDRC supported projects are 'land use policy and planning' and 'market access'. Nevertheless, there were three projects in which land use policy and planning were major concerns: NRMR (Cambodia) and the projects in Indonesia and Vietnam. Better access to markets was a major concern in the NEPED, Nagaland project, and also addressed in LiPA, LiFO, ACM Nepal and in the LATIN Indonesia project.

b. the projects that most address major forestry development challenges are the NRMR Cambodia, Good Forest Governance Indonesia and 'people and forestry' project in the Philippines (the ACM's activities in the Nepal Terai should be considered in this same category),

c. that a wider focus does not necessarily exclude major concern and attention for community forestry development challenges is illustrated by the GFG in Indonesia project. It needs to be noted though that the reason for this high score is that two project phases are considered: in the first the focus was on community forestry development, in the second phase –and building on the first one- the scope was broadened to wider forest governance/decentralization issues. More predictable is the high community forestry development score for 'focused' community forestry projects, such as CFRP, and its successors (LiPA and LiFO) and the ACM Nepal addressing second generation issues.

These observations do indicate that major challenges in –community- forestry development, are indeed addressed by IDRC supported projects, with different intensity and with different focus. The reasons for these differences we'll discuss in the next conclusion.

3.2. IDRC Projects' Added Value

To answer the study's second question (projects' contributions or added value, to the wider community forestry development movement), we need to look more specifically at:

- how the project teams identified the priorities in their respective countries or areas,
- how and with whom they addressed these,
- whether 'contributions to the wider CF movement ' were specifically designed as project activity.

In Table 4 we have summarized our findings from the narratives, related to project's priorities, interactions with other actors and specific contributions to the wider community forestry development movement in the respective countries or beyond. We look at the following factors :
Priorities:

- Whether and to what extent the focus of the project changed over time (including change in focus from one phase to the next)
- Whether and to what extent the project strategy changed
- To what extent changes can be attributed to learning
- And/or to changes in the project's operational or strategic environment
- Whether other actors are working on same priorities and if so
- Whether the project collaborated with them
- Whether there is evidence that other/better priorities could have been considered.

Interactions:

- Whether boundary partners (government agencies with relevant NRM mandate) were involved in the project
- Or whether boundary partners were running the project
- The importance of sharing with community forestry/decentralization networks and/or working groups/other fora
- Assessments of projects' added value by key informants

Planned contributions to wider CF development:

- Whether support to facilitating or regularly contributing to CF development networks was included in the project
- Whether policy studies were included in the project and if so how important these were
- The contributions to academic and/or policy discourse
- Contributions to grass roots networks

TABLE 4 ADDED VALUE FROM IDRC PROJECTS

	Cambodia					Nepal	Philip-pines	Indone-sia	Vi-etnam	Naga-land
Priorities:	NRMR	CFRP	LiPA	LiFo	LI					
Change focus	0	0	3	2	0	0	3	2	3	0
Change strategy	2	1	3	2	3*	0	2	2	3	3
Change from Learning (system-feedback)	3	2	3	3	2	0	3	3	3	3
Change in environment	2	2	2	2	3	0	2	2	2	0
Other actors working on same priority	2	2	2	3	3	3	1	3	1	0
Collaboration with those actors	3	3	2	2	1	3	3	1	0	0
Other better priorities	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
Interactions										
Involving boundary partners/bottom up	3	-	-	-	1	1	1	3	2	-
Boundary partners = project partners	1	3	3	3	1	-	--	1	-	3
Sharing in platforms/ networks/working groups	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	1
Key actor/Informant assessments of added value	3	2	?	?	2	3	3	2	?	3
Specific planned 'wider' contributions										

Network support	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	1
Policy studies	2	2	1	1	2	3	2	2	3	1
Discourse contributions	3	2	?	?	3	3	3	3	2	3
Grass-root networks	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	?
Scores: - = not applicable; 0=none; 1=some; 2=much; 3=very much										
Note: this refers to the RLNR program and DReST										

The patterns that can be distilled from the assessment in Table 4, provide some indications as well as some reasons for the value that IDRC supported projects contributed to the wider community forestry development.

The right priorities:

We can only identify one case (the project on livelihoods in community forestry in Cambodia, LiFo) where a different (' better') priority could have been considered. Just as in the case of the LiPA (livelihoods in protected areas) a multi stakeholder landscape experiment linked to the decentralization program could possibly have been a 'better' priority for LiFo. In all other cases we cannot identify 'better priorities' from the perspective of the 'key challenges in context'.

In the case of NRMR Cambodia, history has proven the relevance of its focus on 'mainstreaming natural resource management in the decentralization and de-concentration program'. CFRP's focus on the establishment of the regulatory framework for community involvement in the management of forests and protected areas in the early 2000s is hard to dispute. The need to address the second generation issues (more efficient resource management, more inclusive decision making and more equitable sharing of benefits) is widely acknowledged, as is the need to address the disputed application of community forestry approaches in the old growth forests of the Terai.

The need in the Philippines for the implementation of the stated CBFM policy has been flagged by many as mentioned earlier in the report. The importance of exploring, developing and demonstrating ways of making decentralization in Indonesia work for forest management has been emphasized by most knowledgeable observers (including CIFOR). The same applies to the importance of developing effective institutional arrangements for the management of common pool resources in Vietnam and the development of shifting cultivation in Nagaland. Though all of these priorities derive their justification from the specific context in each of the countries, without exception they are all also of regional relevance and importance.

Addressing the right priority is a necessary condition for adding value to the 'wider' community forestry movement. Developing and testing effective ways of addressing the priorities is another one. As demonstrated in the project narratives, there is ample evidence that the projects did succeed in that respect as well.

Interactions with other development actors:

In cases where the project partners are from government agencies with a mandate in community forestry development (CFRP, LiPA, LiFo, and NEPED) the interactions with other development initiatives do not require much special effort. The example of the identification and design of the LiPA project in Cambodia, illustrates this point. The project manager of the LiPA project, in his capacity as head of the protected area office of the Ministry of Environment in Cambodia, noted that some of the management approaches proposed by conservation NGOs would restrict villagers' access to resources considerably. This was the basis for the LiPA project idea, i.e., to explore management arrangements with villagers and other stakeholders that struck a better and more realistic compromise

between villager's rights and practices on the one hand and conservation needs on the other. Similarly, the head of the community forestry office in Cambodia was faced with the critique from development organizations that community forestry as practiced so far, contributed little or nothing to villagers' livelihoods, and this became the focus of the LiFo project.

NGOs or universities implementing community forestry development projects as in Indonesia or Vietnam, need to do special efforts to involve their boundary partners (local and national forestry agencies), as well as maintain relationships with other development organizations. In both cases the organizations (LATIN and HUAF) are already part of various networks, that assist in understanding what others are doing as well as sharing experiences and findings with other key actors.

The assessment of the Learning Institute is problematic in this respect as we have focused on two selected community forestry research projects. The Learning Institute is however involved in a wide range of networking activities, that include, but are not limited to community forestry. Moreover, they provide the research capacity building and other technical support to the LiPA and LiFO projects (through a development research support team based at the Learning Institute). This enables the institute and its partners to understand what others are doing and to establish working or sharing arrangements with them. In addition to these types of interactions often arising from relationships existing before the project and largely independent of it, most projects had resources and activities allocated for specific contributions to the wider community forestry development movement.

Planned contributions to the wider community forestry movement

In all projects there were activities planned and time and resources allocated to network support, policy studies and/or contributions to academic or more often, policy discourses. The contributions from projects to discourses in the form of publications and presentations at meetings and conferences have been referred to above under 'other findings'. In addition, in many projects (CFRP, LI, Nepal, Philippines, and Vietnam) supporting nationwide networks or consultations was part of the project. Policy studies including assessment of the state of development of community forestry and contributions by development actors, were included as project activities in CFRP, LI, Nepal, Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam.

There is one type of contribution to the 'wider' community forestry movement illustrated by the Nepal project's collaboration with the Federation of Community Forest Users in Nepal (FECOFUN). Strengthening the 'demand side' in community forestry development through effective representative organizations could, as the case of FECOFUN demonstrates, be an option to be explored in other countries as well.

Interviews during the case studies and earlier project reviews also provide some evidence that other key informants actively involved in community forestry development, but not directly involved in the projects' activities agree with the assessments presented here.

NEPED's nomination for a change makers' award is one such indication, as is the assessment from a knowledgeable observer of the community forestry scene in India, that the development approach in Nagaland is most interesting and effective (Madhu Sarin, pers. com.). The other development actors interviewed during the case study in Nepal expressed their appreciation for the ACM project and its support for the national policy learning group. The director of CIFOR emphasized the importance of the LATIN project working on forestry and decentralization in her foreword in the final project publication. The endorsement of the Prime Minister of Cambodia for LI's work in promoting CBNRM approaches in Cambodia in the 2005 publication of its first national CBNRM symposium provides evi-

dence from an important 'key actor'. And so is the public statement of recognition for the project's work in the Philippines from a senior DENR administrator.

We conclude that the projects have by and large turned the problem of the crowded field in community forestry development into an opportunity. The projects have ensured that they address the right priority, usually worked with other actors in addressing it and advocating the adoption of the process developed and building the capacity for its application. Moreover, in many cases the analysis of the community forestry field and the state of its development was addressed in many of the projects.

3.3. Implications for Programming Strategies in Community Forestry Development

The three aspects to be considered for future programming are related to the lessons from the projects and the present state of commitments, the new challenges that derive from addressing organizational and institutional capacity and assessment of the feasibility of continuing development support to community forestry.

Lessons and commitments

The first lesson from the conclusions presented earlier is that the basic programming principles are sound and deserve to be maintained or strengthened. The main principle in programming is not just the local ownership of the project, but the active coaching provided by program officers and/or partners arranged by the project team itself or with the assistance of the program officer. The second principle is the focus on the 'basics' as discussed in section 1.5: research capacity building, improving policies and developing learning systems.

The third principle is perseverance. With few exceptions IDRC continued their collaboration with project teams for a minimum of 6 upto 10 years or so (the three year ACM project built on an earlier phase funded by ADB).

These have proven to be valid and effective principles that contribute much to the success of the projects.

The other aspect for future programming is the state of commitment in the different countries. It is only in Cambodia and Vietnam that there are presently commitments for the future.

In Nepal, Philippines, Indonesia and Nagaland there is a more open situation, enabling a fresh look at the situation and the identification of a new focus with new partners –if and as necessary- for the future. In both Nepal and Nagaland there would be much scope to explore new opportunities with old partners. In Nagaland, the management and utilization of existing forests (beyond the fallow lands) could be an option to be explored with NEPED. In Nepal IDRC support to ForestAction's work on and capacity in policy and institutional development (with a focus on the Terai) would merit serious consideration. In both Indonesia and the Philippines, focus and partners would have to be identified based on a thorough assessment of the policy and institutional environment and organizational capacities and potential of different organizations.

These references to institutional and policy environment also refer to the need to address organizational and institutional capacity, including partners' ability to assess that, in a more systematic manner.

Policy and institutional analysis

During the July workshop with project partners two issues stood out for which all participants felt they needed better models and analytical tools. One was the problematic role of local government in

community forestry (or more general the problems in linking community forestry development with democratic decentralization), and the second one was 'policy'. In the discussions it became apparent that the first issue (decentralization) and the second (policy) were related. Workshop participants felt that they too often had to treat 'the policy system' as a black box, as they were not sure what to look for and how to study it. Compared to the concepts, models or frameworks and tools for rural field research, the toolbox for studying policy and institutions appears rather empty.

Many of the projects have invested considerable (project) time and resources in exploring different approaches that could help throw some light on what happens inside the black policy box. The LATIN team in Indonesia, after being confronted with despotic local governments and shifting policies from central government, undertook a systematic study of the literature on decentralization and natural resources, including research done earlier in Indonesia. ForestAction applied 'deliberative democracy' and other governance approaches to the development of multi stakeholder fora in forestry in Nepal. As the sub title of the project publication from the Philippines' project ('from participation to deliberation') shows, similar ideas inspired the efforts there to 'link people and policy'.

The approach in Vietnam to compare state policies with informal institutional arrangements on the ground demonstrates another approach to getting a handle on the policy issue. LI's exploration of an institutional framework inspired by the IAD framework, pursues a similar approach (Van Acker, 2009).

These experiences demonstrate a clear need to assist community forestry development projects to get a better handle on the 'policies and institutional 'aspects of their work. There is wide range of possible approaches to be considered. From the more pragmatic institutional analysis for use in strategic or project planning stages (MDF, 2006), to the framework based on organizing practices for local empirical research (Appendini and Nuijten, 2002), adaptations of the IAD approach for research on forestry and institutions already referred to (Orstrom, reference) as well as the more general cognitive theories about institutional change (North, reference). The latter more general approach could form the basis for a more explicit 'theory of change in forestry' (Taylor and Ortiz, 2008) demonstrating the type of long term 'transformational' results that may be expected as well as the limited relevance of the immediate results (poverty, halting deforestation, food security, climate change) that are presently much emphasized.

The political feasibility of investing in institutional change

In the present political environment of international cooperation immediate environmental and socio-economic impact is much emphasized[9]. The type of institutional transformation that is involved in community forestry development does not fit very well with this interpretation of development. As the same source quoted in the footnote notes "Although it is important to provide social care from a humanitarian perspective, it does not automatically lead to the fundamental changes which promote growth and development, and which gradually make countries and peoples self-sufficient" (WRR, 2010). A return to the 'basics' in international development assistance appears to be a requisite for

9 According to a recent review of Dutch development aid: "The increasing pressure in the media and from politicians to achieve concrete results in the short term acts as a brake on investments that will only show yields in the long term" (WRR, 2010).

effective support to further develop the institutional change aspects and approaches in community forestry development. There are at least three countries in which IDRC investments have created a solid basis for this: Nepal (ForestAction), Cambodia (The Learning Institute) and Vietnam (Hue University). It is at present not clear whether there are other agencies that can provide the type of support that IDRC has been providing in the past.

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APPENDIX 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE

Synthesis Study of IDRC-supported Community Forestry Development Research in Asia

Summary

This research support project will review the IDRC experience in development research on local people and forest resources ("community forestry") in Asia. It will review and synthesize the major changes in Asian community forestry of the last few decades and analyze the approaches used by IDRC partners in engaging with these changes.

Background

IDRC Programming in Community Forestry in Asia

Over the years, RPE and its predecessor programs have supported a number of projects, with various support activities at national, regional and international level, in South and Southeast Asia that together constitute a considerable body of work relating to issues of local people and their use of and rights to forest resources. Although these projects represent a variety of approaches to this broad issue, they usually referred to as "community forestry" (CF).[10] Compared to LAC and Africa, such forestry related work probably received more emphasis in Asia. The key projects involved, with the main thrust of their work, are the following:

- CIFOR, with New Era and Forest Action in Nepal, addressing "second generation" problems in CF (esp. intra-community equity issues) and developing meso-level multi-stakeholder approaches to dealing with these. [11]
- Nagaland, NE India: development of smallholder tree management, complementing a CIDA development project.[12]
- IIRR, in the Philippines: strengthening deliberative democracy in forestry policy making (supported by rural action research fieldwork). [13]

[10] Many other terms are commonly used, including "social forestry," and "community-based forestry," "village forestry," etc. Here, "community forestry" will be used as a shorthand covering all these different approaches

- LATIN, Indonesia: strengthening local people's access to and rights over forest resources by creating district level multi-stakeholder and multi-sector planning processes. In the later stages, this involved more national level policy advocacy as well.[14]

- Ratanakiri Cambodia: experimentation with local forest management institutions as part of a provincial capacity building strategy (in a context of an emerging decentralization and deconcentration policy and national program).[15]

- Community Forestry Research Project (CFRP), Cambodia: field experimentation with models and processes for local institutional development aimed to contribute to developing national legislation.[16]

- Current CF work in Cambodia (1) Strengthening forest based livelihoods through institutional and market development. (2) Building on the work of CFRP, reconciling village level CF processes with area-wide planning processes for protected areas.[17]

- Hue, Vietnam: developing district level procedures for implementing national forest land allocation policies.[18]

Many of these projects have come to an end, and we are in some ways witnessing the end of a programming era.[19] This presents an important opportunity for reflection and learning.

Forests and people in SE Asia

A number of characteristics emerge when comparing the situation of forests and people in Asia, especially Southeast Asia, with that in LAC and Africa. Asia has by far the largest number of forest dwellers (about 450 million) and the highest population density in forests (about 85 per sq km) (Chomitz *et al* 2007: p. 38). Deforestation rates in Asia are also higher (Ibid, p. 50) and in mainland Southeast Asia, most deforestation is thought to be carried out by small holders (Ibid p. 44). 20 per cent of the forests in South and Southeast Asia are found in protected areas as classified by the IUCN (compared to 11 per cent worldwide) (Gustafsson *et al* (2007): p. 38). These numbers are indicative of the importance of forests in people's livelihoods in Asia, but also suggest the high potential of conflicts relating to forests.

In the history of forestry in Asia, one key dimension of conflicts has been that between government forestry agencies on the one hand and local people using and staking claims to forest resources on the other. Forestry agencies have tended to be strong and powerful institutions, inspired by the European tradition of "Scientific Forestry" and in many cases building directly on colonial predecessors. Forest land ownership tends to lie with the State and in many cases forest resources were either managed

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[14] #101498 Promoting Good Forest Government in Indonesia (LATIN).

[15] Resource Management Policy, Ratanakiri, Cambodia projects : 1) #40333 (Ph I), 2) #40392 (Ph II), and 3) #100488 (Ph III).

[16] Community Forestry, Cambodia : 1) #100112 (Ph I), and 2) #101247 (Ph II).

[17] Cambodia Rural Livelihoods and Natural Resources Research Programme #103951 : 1) -002 with the Community Forestry Office (CFO) and 2) -003 with the Ministry of Environment, Cambodia.

[18] #104912-001 : Governance and Management of Common Pool Resources in Vietnam.

[19] #103175 Global Forests Rights Action Research. A global project coordinated by the Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) continues to explore issues of local forest management and forest rights, but given the global scale and different approach, this is not included in the analysis.

directly by state forestry agencies or contracted to large commercial entities as concessions. In both cases, local people's traditional or historical forest rights and *de facto* use were often disregarded (e.g. Peluso 1992, Guha 1989).

"Community Forestry Development" in Asia

A very large number of activities relating to community forestry have taken place in Asia, involving many different actors. Several countries have initiated large-scale government programs that give local people certain rights to (and usually many responsibilities for) forest resources. This includes Joint Forest Management in India, Community Forestry in Nepal, Community-based Forest Management and Ancestral Domain in the Philippines, and various programs on social and community forestry in Indonesia. Cambodia has developed a legal framework for community forestry and has begun to officially recognize community forestry sites. Thailand has recently adopted a Community Forestry Law. In all cases, rights devolved to local communities are tightly circumscribed and in no case involves the right to market valuable timber. Obstacles to forest management in the form of cumbersome technical requirements are common.

There are other situations which can also be regarded as part of community forestry. This includes decentralization of forest management to households and local entities in the context of *de jure* collective land ownership and strong government control in China and Vietnam. Laos and Vietnam have issued policies for allocating forest land to local entities. Outside the forest sector, several countries have introduced decentralization reforms, which devolve rights to local levels of government (esp. Philippines, Indonesia and Cambodia). Even more numerous, perhaps, are indigenous traditions of forest management and initiatives to support or revive these. NGOs, research institutes, and various international organizations are involved in supporting communities or governments in supporting CF, or implement their own projects.

There seems to be an emerging consensus that CF initiatives in many places have had at least modest success in improving or restoring forest resources, probably partly because CF provides communities with ways to exclude forest use by outsiders and because local use is somewhat regulated. Successes in improving livelihoods are also reported, but real breakthroughs in poverty alleviation are rare. Reasons for this are many, but include the degraded state of allocated forests, the regulatory obstacles, and the limited scope for timber sales. "Second generation" issues, such as intra-community inequity and limited roles for women, have also been flagged.

Problematique

In supporting community forestry development in Asia, IDRC was one actor in a wide and rich field. It engaged with this regional CF "movement" and contributed to it. These contributions were made in a variety of ways, reflecting differences in context as well as other more contingent factors, such as the history of IDRC engagement in different countries. The first task of this research support project is to assess whether or to what extent IDRC's projects contributed to key challenges in community forestry development. A second set of questions relate to the programming strategy or strategies underlying the IDRC projects and the relevance of these strategies for the continuing development of community forestry in Asia. Comparison of IDRC's programming strategy with the strategies of other key development agencies in community forestry development will also assist in assessing whether there is – still- a niche (or need) for IDRC to contribute to major future challenges in community forestry development, and if so, what adjustments in programming strategy need to be made.

Goal and Objectives

Goal: To analyze and synthesize the experience of the body of IDRC-supported community forestry work in Asia, in the context of the wider regional community forestry movement.

Objective 1: Succinctly summarize the main characteristics, trends and challenges of community forestry development in Asia.

Objective 2: Describe and analyze the activities and approach of the IDRC supported CF projects and activities.

Objective 3: Synthesize the experience of IDRC's engagement with the community forestry development context in Asia.

Methodology

There are two streams to this study, as reflected in the first two objectives: to identify the key elements and trends in CF in the region (with some benefit of hindsight) and to analyze the experiences of the IDRC projects. The biggest challenge will be to tie these two streams together in a coherent narrative.

The study is to be undertaken by one consultant, with inputs from key personnel from the IDRC-supported projects. Activities include:

- Desk research: Much of the needed information on regional CF is available in the form of published and grey literature. The consultant will be responsible for finding these – it is assumed that he/she will have a good familiarity of the subject. Information on the IDRC supported projects is largely available in the form of reports and other outputs. This would take an estimated 45 working days.
- Interviews: visits to two countries (tentatively Philippines and Indonesia, or Nepal) for in-depth interaction with project researchers and other stakeholders. (10 working days)
- Workshop: one workshop to bring together project team leaders and a few key thinkers on CF in the region. The workshop would take place in July and be organized to discuss a draft paper (or key elements from it).

Results

The specific output of this study will be a report (main report no longer than 30 pages) to RPE, but suitable for wider sharing outside the PI and the Centre. There are two broader outcomes expected from this study. First, it will provide RPE with better insight in programming in a "crowded field." Second, it will provide RPE with part of the base for considering future programming, both as relating to this region and as relating to the thematic area.

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APPENDIX 2: CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNITY FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN CAMBODIA

The contributions from the projects to community forestry development are presented in terms of their contributions to process, organizational and institutional change and the effects from these changes on the conditions required for effective community forestry.

TABLE 5 SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS - CAMBODIA

Project	Process change	Organizational change	Institutional change	CF Outcomes
NRMR	NREM in local development planning: -land use planning and allocation -community forestry -CB ecotourism -agriculture action research (swiddens)	-effective multi stakeholder provincial rural development committee -local government capacity in NREM development and indigenous land tenure -pool of Cambodian experts in CBNRM	-indigenous tenure in Land Law -NREM in national D&D program (commune councils in NREM planning)	-legal requisites for IP access to customary (forest and other) lands -commune and provincial support to CF
CFRP	-CF formation and establishment process	-capacity development of CFU-FA and CPA - MoE -CF in university curriculum	-regulatory framework for CF and CPA -working relationships between key CF agencies	-initial community access to resources -renewable management rights -effective local management organizations -effective support arrangements for CF establishment
LI	-participatory monitoring in CF -co-management of PAs	-platform for knowledge sharing and development -support capacity in development research	-joint CF (as part of CBNRM) program with key CF agencies -more pluralistic support system	-effective support arrangements for CF/ CBNRM development
LiFo	-livelihoods action research in CF	-capacity to address livelihood issues in CFU	-too early to tell	-enhanced benefits from CF and access to markets
LiPA	-multi stakeholder approach to CB PA management planning	-capacity to incorporate community needs in PA management planning in MoE	-too early to tell	-enhanced community access to PA resources, -enhanced benefits -access to markets

Process change

The NRMR project team and the CFRP both developed processes, organizational and institutional capacity related to the initial establishment and formation of community management groups. This is often referred to as 'first generation' community forestry development. The more recently initiated projects, such as the development of participatory monitoring, co-management of protected areas and livelihoods and natural resources action research (LI, LiFo, LiPA) all refer to 'second generation' processes. They built on the arrangements for the establishment and formation of community based management regimes that have been put in place.

The IDRC NRMR project team developed a participatory land use planning process (PLUP), together with some of the line agencies and local NGOs, to enhance land and resource tenure security. This process was shaped as part of the commune development planning process. After the promulgation of the Land Law in 2001, the project built on the PLUP process to develop a set of procedures for indigenous land registration. Pilot activities in villages in 3 different areas, demonstrated many clashes between the legal categories of land and forest and the indigenous categories. The team organized meetings between policy makers and communities to discuss ways to address these conflicting categories and organized study visits to other countries in the region on ways to address the legal status of communities.

The land use planning process as part of the local development and decentralization process includes the identification of community forestry areas and the submission of community forestry projects by the commune council to a district integration workshop in which line agencies are represented and are requested to support the projects submitted by the commune councils.

The project team worked with a team from the provincial Forestry Administration to develop a process for community forestry establishment, based on assessment of communities' customary use of different forest areas and resources. An important part of the process was to build the FA's skills in participatory approaches through formal training, field practice, on-site demonstrations and field manual development.

The process developed and tested by the CFRP team in 5 different areas in Cambodia, built on the experiences from the NRMR team. Also in CFRP's approach, the first step is the assessment of how different groups in the community use different forest areas and resources. Based on the results of this initial study, an initial community forestry management group is identified working with the team to identify the boundaries of the community forest, develop rules and regulations for management, cost and benefit sharing, a community forestry management agreement and a community forestry management plan. In addition to lessons from the NRMR project, CFRP also built on the lessons from other community forestry pilot activities (as in the collaboration with an FAO supported project on community management planning). One of the issues identified in the NRMR and CFRP projects as well as other projects are the technical requirement for resource inventory and planning[20]. CFRP attempted to address this issue by introducing and testing a framework for monitoring the sustainability, equity and efficiency of the outcomes of the community management arrangements.

The participatory monitoring system developed by the Learning Institute built on the CFRP framework. The system is based on the Principles, Criteria and Indicators approach, addressing the functioning of the community management system in terms of forest health, economic benefits, social organization and external support. A field guide with tools is available for use in the ongoing establishment of community forestry management groups under the National Community Forestry program. The system was developed in collaboration with GTZ and Community Forestry International.

Two other processes addressing 'second generation' (post establishment) issues in community forestry are being developed by two projects under the Rural Livelihoods and Natural Resources program. One process is to address community livelihood issues through a multi stakeholder process

[20] Note that this is also an issue in other countries like the Philippines and Nepal.

for management planning of protected areas, in which community uses and needs are taken as the starting point for the planning and negotiation process. This is to provide an alternative to some of the more conservation oriented approaches in which conservation needs are the entry point, leading to severe restrictions on community sue and management of the area. Similarly, the 'livelihoods in community forestry' project, investigates the role of forest in livelihoods and the potential to provide greater contributions, also through processing and marketing activities.

Organizational change

Though foreign advisers did play an important role, particularly in the first generation projects, the managers and key staff from the community resource management units of the Ministry of Environment and Forest Administration, at national and provincial level, played the main role in managing and implementing the projects. This has contributed much to the enhanced capacity for planning, design, implementation and dissemination of development research in natural resource management within key government agencies (Veer, 2008). At first sight this may appear to be the result of simple 'learning by doing'. More detailed project reviews (Gonsalves, 2005; Veer at. al., 2006) show that in all cases a more deliberate set of capacity development strategies was used. Different forms of coaching (e.g., mixed research teams with more experienced members training and handing over responsibilities to less experienced ones), workshops with other projects, visits to other projects, tailor made training, writing workshops, and increasingly sophisticated approaches to reflection/review of experiences and planning evolved over time. The reflection exercises culminated in a more formalized approach to networking and case study writing, which was taken as the basis for the 'CBNRM Learning Initiative' in 2001, organizationally formalized in the CBNRM Learning Institute in 2005.

IDRC's support to the development of the Learning Institute also reflects a shift in 'entry level' in the range from process > organizational > institutional change. In this case there is more emphasis on the development of organizational capacity for the development of the capacity of other key actors, and institutional capacity) than on the community forestry process as an entry level. The new (since 2007) development research support team, providing training and coaching support to 5 IDRC supported research teams, including LiPA and LiFo, is a good example of the continuing –IDRC supported- organizational development of the Learning Institute.

Another example of building on capacity in organizational change, is the mainstreaming of NREM in the national decentralization and de-concentration program. Key staff in that initiative (national coordinator and his deputy) are former NRMR project staff, and other former staff is involved in specific program activities, such as the allocation and registration of indigenous lands. Also many of the research and pilot activities in training, planning and implementation for the national program take place in Ratanakiri, building on the experience, capacity and support from local and provincial government and line agencies.

A third category of organizational development outcomes refers to the –continuing- capacity development of the community resource management units in the Forestry Administration and Ministry of Environment, at national level, and in the areas where field research is carried out, also at local level.

Institutional change

Institutional changes to which IDRC supported community forestry projects have directly contributed include the legal and administrative arrangements for securing access by indigenous people to their customary lands. The same applies to the regulatory frameworks for community management of

forest resources and protected areas. Another important contribution is related to the role of commune councils in community based natural resource (including forest) management, and other supporting arrangements (through the district integration workshops) of the decentralization program.

Fostering good working relationships between technical and middle level management staff of competing government agencies (particularly MoE and FA) is another area where projects' contributions can clearly be identified.

The IDRC projects have been part of the development of more pluralistic support systems in community forestry, together with many other development actors.

The importance of a wide range of development actors moving in the same direction is even more apparent in the main institutional change that has taken place. The recognition that rural people need to be involved in the decision making about land and forest resources in Cambodia is now much wider accepted (including in the Forestry Administration) than a decade ago. The growth of this wider 'community of community foresters' inside and outside government agencies is one manifestation of this change. The growing number of community management groups on the ground represents an important component and source for further institutional change.

This is complemented by the growing number of NGOs, donors and research agencies actively contributing to community forestry development. This increasing pluralism is manifest in the formation and composition of new coordination arrangements such as the Technical Working Group on Environment and Forestry. This group initiated the multi stakeholder preparation process of the National Forest Program in Cambodia in which decentralized forestry (including community forestry) plays a prominent role.

IDRC supported projects did and do collaborate with many other development actors in fostering these wider institutional changes, and particularly their implementation on the ground. As discussed below, the presence of these other initiatives is as much an opportunity for promoting the type of change required for community forestry as a challenge for programming in ensuring complementarities (rather than duplication) with these other initiatives.

CF Outcomes

From the perspective of more immediate community forestry outcomes, a regulatory framework is now in place enabling the government with the assistance of other development actors "to formally vest some degree of responsibility and authority for forest management in local communities". Processes and capacity have also been developed to provide assistance to communities in establishing formal access to resources, to obtain management rights, to establish effective local management organizations and various arrangements have been developed for the support of community forestry establishment, including support from local government and line agencies.

As in all community forestry development processes (and illustrated in more detail in the discussion below of the project in Nepal) working with these initial arrangements demonstrates many needs for further development, particularly with regard to the second part of the community forestry definition quoted above : "so that they –the communities- can obtain social and economic benefits from sustainable forest management".

This need for further development is recognized by both the IDRC projects (working on livelihood development in community forestry and protected areas) and others working on access to higher value or larger forest areas, and nested management arrangements with local government.

Relationships with other development actors

Effective collaborative and sharing arrangements with other key development actors working in community based natural resource management in general and community forestry in particular have been a key feature of IDRC projects. IDRC and UNDP jointly managed the NRMR project, and were later joined by SIDA. CFRP worked in partnership with international and local NGOs in their field sites and other important community forestry pilot projects (FAO, Concern Worldwide) and regional organizations (RECOFTC) in joint development of approaches and practices.

The Learning Institute arose from the recognition that there were many initiatives in community based natural resource management and that there was a need for better learning and sharing, an synthesis of these contributions to the policy discourse. In addition to a wide range of collaborative activities with these initiatives, LI provided support to more institutionalized forms of networking, latterly in the form of the Cambodia Development Research Forum.

It is also important to point out that the managers and key staff of the research projects (CFRP, and later LiPA and LiFo) are the managers of the community resource units in the Forestry Administration and Ministry of Environment. As such they are involved (often in a supervisory capacity) in all other projects and development activities within their domain. Thus they are in a very good position to identify complementarities and avoid duplication. An example of this is the origin of the LiPA project that arose from concern about some of the conservation based PA management planning. The LiPA project was designed to address these concerns, and the initial results indicate that it has succeeded in that.

The institutionalization of the 'mainstreaming NREM in decentralization' is another example of the advantages of good relationships with other development actors. It is unlikely that this would have happened without the strong working relationships between UNDP and IDRC in the NRMR project.

Concluding observations

Cambodia is an exceptional place for various reasons. Its civil war upto the mid 90s left it without many of the human and institutional resources available in other countries. It was also affected by the resource curse in forestry until well into the late 90s, and it is still affected by that, albeit in a more exposed manner.

From an IDRC perspective it is different in that IDRC came into Cambodia at a critical time (the early 90s) and established itself as a relatively important player in NREM, with more and a wider range of activities and projects as compared to the other countries discussed here.

As many other development actors have entered the same arena, the playing field is now more crowded than it was, and the relative influence of IDRC in natural resource management may become more similar as in other countries. This is also reflected in IDRC's programming in which the entry points have moved from process development to organizational development and the development of institutional arrangements to foster the building of development research capacity.

APPENDIX 3: CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNITY FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN NEPAL

The adaptive collaborative management process developed and tested by the project is an approach to enhance collective learning and critical reflection in community forestry institutions from local to national level. The emphasis is on fostering inclusion and equity within the institutions as well as developing strategic collaboration between groups and organizations. Because of the project's activities at different levels, we identify and discuss contributions to process, organizational and institutional change at local, meso- and national level.

TABLE 6 SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS - NEPAL

Level	Process change	Organizational change	Institutional change	CF Outcomes
Local (CFUG)	-more inclusive planning/decision making based on shared visioning and self monitoring	-formation of local hamlet and other sub-groups -decision making more representative of all users -more efficient/active management	-enhanced voice of marginalized users in decision making -strategic collaboration with meso level organizations and other CFUGs	-more efficient use of resources -more equitable sharing of benefits -greater contributions to poverty reduction
Meso (-sub-district)	-more responsive/ effective support to CFUGs	-capacity to identify key issues and design/ implement effective strategies	-enhanced pluralism in CF support - enhanced CFUG/ FECOFUN role in CF support	-more effective CF support
National	-more effective informal policy dialogue amongst key actors	-enhanced capacity of ForestAction to facilitate policy dialogue -enhanced capacity of FECOFUN to contribute to policy dialogue and CF development at local level	-strengthened collaboration between key actors in policy development	-more effective representation of CFUG views and interests in national policy dialogue and development -enhanced chances for implementation of CF in Terai

Local changes (within the CFUG)

The main changes in planning and decision making within the CFUG, are the introduction of more active and inclusive processes of collective reflection and learning as the basis for nested decision making in the CFUG. Before the introduction of the ACM approach, goals and decisions were usually made by the executive committee of the user group, without much input from the members. An inclusive self monitoring process by hamlet based groups and other sub groups formed the basis for the development of the collective vision and for the two way communication between members and the executive committee. Analysis of equity in benefit sharing, regular reflection on experience, use of trial plots and experiments were also introduced to strengthen the learning process within the CFUG.

Organizational innovations introduced, included hamlet committees and representatives as the basis for all decision making, including selection of candidates for the executive committee and for conflict management. In addition, action groups and sub-committees were formed to take the lead in the implementation of action plans (such as income generation groups and committees for equitable distribution of forest products). The process and organizational changes resulted in more equitable representation of women and marginalized users.

The change processes were facilitated by change agents from within the CFUG with the support of external facilitators, from meso level (district or sub-district) multi stakeholder fora. The experience with the external facilitators contributed to the CFUG more actively seeking out collaboration with external actors to support CFUG initiatives.

Meso level changes

Meso fora operate at different levels, e.g., as user group-, or enterprise networks, or as multi stakeholder forum at range post or district level. The contributions to facilitation of CFUG processes by members of the meso level fora and sharing of experiences from this with other members contributed to a greater understanding of the key development challenges in community forestry. Another important change in the five fora that adopted the ACM approach was the enhanced engagement and information sharing amongst CFUGs and with meso level actors. This contributed to exposing other CFUGs to the ACM approach and experiences and it enabled meso actors to contribute more effectively to the development needs of CFUGs. This was complemented by introducing reflection based processes, such as critical reviews of governance, experiences and actions, and joint observation of CFUG and/or meso level practices.

Institutional changes in the fora, included the shift in some cases from an exclusive community forestry forum to a wider multi stakeholder arrangement, or from a district to a network of neighbouring CFUGs. Other changes were the creation of more explicit linkages with CFUGs, and creating more space for marginalized forest users in meso level fora.

National level changes

The National Policy learning Group was initiated under political conditions that constrained the dialogue between government and civil society organizations. Therefore the participants in the learning group were invited in their personal capacity rather than as representatives from their organizations. Regular members of the learning group included people from FECOFUN, community forestry projects (SDC and DFID), Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation (Secretary and Chief of the Community Forestry Division), Forest Action and New Era and occasionally Tribhuvan University. A wide range of policy issues were discussed in the learning group, including Terai forest management regimes (collaborative forest management versus community forestry) for which the preparation of 3 policy papers was commissioned, second generation community forestry issues and strategies in the hills, and issues in the high hills, the role of community forestry in poverty reduction, coordination of funding through the CFUG, gender issues, boundary conflicts, transparency in decision making, the relationship between user groups and support agencies and packaging the results of research for higher impact.

These discussions contributed much to better and shared understanding of the issues and particularly of ways to address them. A good example of the effectiveness of the discussions is the new administrate order for community forestry issued by the Ministry of Forestry and Soil Conservation. The draft of this order was discussed in the Learning Group. Suggestions from the learning group that were incorporated in the order included the stipulation that 50 % of the committee members of the CFUG should be women, and that either the chairperson of secretary should be a woman. It was stipulated that there should be at least three signatories (including one woman) for the authorization of payments and other CFUG transactions. Another provision is that at least 35 % of the CFUG's income should be spent to support pro poor activities. Also a public audit of income and expenditures needs to be undertaken once or twice a year, with the results published.

Another example of the influence from the learning group is the participation of the members in the various working groups under the Task Force for forestry sector reform that was initiated by an incoming minister of forest, triggered by the conflicts over management regimes in the Terai. Many of the results of the discussions in the learning group were used in the preparation of proposals for reform.

The main organizational changes at national level refer to Forest Action's enhanced capacity to facilitate multi stakeholder learning processes at both meso and particularly national level, as well as FECOFUN's enhanced capacity to provide support to community forestry development at meso and policy development at national level.

CF Outcomes

The ACM process has proven to be effective in enhancing equity in decision making, promoting more efficient resource management, leading to more and more equitably shared benefits. Also, the income generated by the CFUG was used more effectively for poverty reduction.

At meso level the approach to recruit change agents from existing meso level fora, demonstrates the potential to mobilize development support for CFUGs in a cost effective manner. National support to these change agents is important. FECOFUN's role in providing support at meso and national level points at the potential for the development of a self sustained and diversified support system.

The linkages between local research, meso level support and national policy learning group have also contributed to a better identification of critical policy issues, views and concerns of forest users and policies and regulations that are more effective in addressing the issues.

The chances and opportunities for implementation of community forestry in the Terai have been enhanced both by the studies and discussions in the learning group and by the more pragmatic focus on adapting community forestry to the specific challenges in the Terai and making community forestry work with the involvement of multiple stakeholders.

Relationships with other development actors

The community forestry development arena is more crowded than in all other countries discussed here. It is becoming less crowded though, with donors such as GTZ, AusAID and Danida moving out of community forestry.

The ACM project demonstrates clearly that a 'crowded field', can be as much an opportunity as a challenge. Though there are others (SDC, CARE, DFID) working on second generation (equity, poverty and livelihood) issues and exploring new strategies and arrangements for community forestry development support, it is particularly the facilitation of the national policy learning group that has successfully exploited the potential of the presence of a range of development actors. The capacity demonstrated by Forest Action to provide effective support to this informal multi stakeholder group is of particular importance and represents a major potential for further development in community forestry in Nepal.

Concluding observations

Though we have emphasized the role of national organizations in the above presentation of the ACM project's contributions to community forestry development in Nepal, it must be acknowledged that the contributions from CIFOR have been crucial. They have contributed in major ways to the design

of the approach, research planning and implementation and in the preparation of a series of research reports of high quality.

As the project's and other experiences (e.g., the periodic national community forestry workshops, organized in a collaborative manner) have demonstrated there is a great need and considerable potential for a forest policy forum or 'deliberative process' in Nepal. There are few donors around with the capacity to support such processes. There are even fewer national organizations around with the demonstrated capacity and legitimacy to facilitate such national dialogue between the key stakeholders. Given ForestAction's interest and capacity in this facilitating role and IDRC's capacity to support such processes, there appears to be much potential for exploration of future collaboration on this.

Supporting and sharing multi level forest policy development in Nepal has also great regional and international relevance in view of the innovative and effective nature of its –community- forest policy.

APPENDIX 4: CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNITY FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

The three interrelated components of the project were field research to highlight community perspectives, developing and supporting advocacy processes, providing policy platforms for meaningful negotiations between stakeholders and development of experiential training and learning enhancing the learning capabilities of professionals.

TABLE 7 SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS - PHILIPPINES

Level	Process change	Organizational change	Institutional change	CF Outcomes
Field	From management capacity building to voice and rights	Enhanced capacity to exert use and decision making rights	Role models to bring community perspectives in policy platforms	More effective community demand to implement policy
CB FM Program	Community research and perspectives in multi stake holder workshops in program review and planning	Enhanced learning capabilities of professionals	Community and other shs perspectives into review and planning of CB FM program Clarification of roles and responsibilities of different shs (incl. LGUs)	Enhanced awareness of need for change in program planning and implementation Program implementation more responsive to community needs
National Forest Policy	Multi stakeholder processes in policy and NFP	Enhanced capacity to facilitate multi stakeholder processes at national level	Community perspectives in national forest planning	Recognition of importance of CBFM in national forest policy and program

Process change

The project contributed to the revision of national CBFM guidelines, based on research in three research sites in the first phase of the project (2000-2002). But the approval of the guidelines was much delayed, then forest utilization rights were suspended, followed by cancellation of all community based forest management agreements. The resulting communities' distrust of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) contributed to a shift in focus of the field research and more emphasis on developing advocacy processes. The field research produced further evidence that the issue was not to 'educate' or 'empower' communities, but rather to release their potential to manage forests. It was concluded that the communities' lack of opportunity to be heard in policy making results in the lack of rights, and hence lack of incentives for sustainable forest management.

The 'linking people to policy' framework was introduced during phase I, and its further elaboration and expansion in the second phase (2003-2007) resulted in the organization of 3 national and 5 regional workshops, providing opportunities for communities to present their perspectives in multi stakeholder policy platforms.

Field research activities were increasingly triggered by and linked to policy events and/or the 'people and policy' workshops, as the examples –in chronological order- illustrate:

- participatory study to highlight impact of suspension of utilization rights,
- local level 'linking people to policy' process with communities in buffer zone and protected area management,
- analysis with communities of new CBFM guidelines as basis for the development of information materials, with local actors for local actors. In this information material for community use, rights and responsibilities of each actor and the procedures they had to follow, were emphasized,

- CB FM program review and strategic planning: field research in 6 communities under different ecological and socio-economic conditions, to assist in documenting their experiences in the past decade of CBFM implementation and their suggestions for improvement in the next decade (CBFM strategic plan).

BOX 5 VILLAGERS IN MULTI STAKEHOLDER WORKSHOPS

"Many villagers had little or no experience of workshops, which put them at a disadvantage relative to other stakeholders. To make them more comfortable, the national language Tagalog was used rather than English, as requested by villagers in pre-workshop meetings. (..) Villagers were also invited to the venue a few days beforehand so they would feel comfortable with the place. They had an opportunity to review the workshop design (including seating, materials and timing) and to suggest revisions when methods, purposes and processes were not appropriate or clear to them. The villagers took part in "dry runs" of all sessions and practised their presentations with peer review" (O'Hara and Pulhin, 2006).

The policy advocacy processes built on the field research in that it helped communities to analyze and synthesize their experiences and views, to be shared in the multi stakeholder workshops. Key events in the development, support and dissemination of advocacy processes included:

- a region wide workshop with 27 CBFM communities to lobby DENR to approve the new CBFM guidelines (four months after the workshop, the guidelines were approved),
- national meeting to plan development of information materials to assist in the use of the new guidelines,
- provincial level workshop to introduce new guidelines, develop provincial workplan and initiate development of information materials,
- publication of book on 'Linking policy to people: from participation to deliberation in the context of Philippine community forestry' (with process and content of the 'Linking Policy to People' workshop),
- co-facilitation of workshop of PO federation with others, on the cancellation of CBFM agreements (2 weeks later the new DENR secretary rescinded the cancellation),
- CBFM review and planning process:
    - national multi stakeholder review of 10 years of CBFM implementation
    - organizing committee to design process to update national CBFM strategic plan (with representation from communities)
    - preparatory workshop with community representatives for the CBFM strategic plan
    - consultative workshop on CBFM strategic plan with FAO, USAID, JICA and GTZ
    - formation of NGO consortium to support CBFM
    - series of consultation meetings and workshops to design process for CBFM implementation in future
    - 5 regional consultations with a total of 476 participants on the CBFM strategic plan implementation
    - drafting and validation of 'Second Decade National CBFM Strategic Plan' with DENR, NGOs and POs
    - production of first draft of 'Ten Year CBFM Review Forum' proceedings
    - national multi stakeholder 'Second Decade National CBFM Strategic Plan' writeshop with 44 participants
- evaluation workshop with project partners of the IDRC-IIRR community forestry development project.

This series of local, regional and national processes contributed to the acceptance by senior DENR administrators of the need to consult communities in the policy design and implementation process. The processes also contributed to the generation of a training curriculum and materials with national, regional and international organizations working on capacity building of professional foresters, including UPLB, RECOFTC, FAO and LTS.

Organizational change

The field research and policy advocacy work had demonstrated that barriers to community forestry were much related to professional constructs and attitudes, instilled in professional forestry education and training. To enable the shift from policy makers to facilitators fostering a learning environment, the project developed curricula, courses and materials in participatory action research. In collaboration with RECOFTC first a draft outline of a course in PAR for CBNRM was prepared based on the project's experiences in field research and advocacy processes. This outline was gradually developed through various customized training courses and four international training courses held in collaboration with RECOFTC. The 27 sessions and draft materials prepared for the first international course were first brought together in a draft manual and then through testing and iterative refining, consolidated in a 'PAR for CBNRM' manual.

Other contributions to organizational development include the enhanced capacity and recognition of IIRR as an effective organization to facilitate community forestry development in the Philippines. Key organizations such as DENR and UPLB became interested in collaboration with IIRR, based on its demonstrated capacity to facilitate innovative and effective approaches to community forestry program and policy development.

Institutional change

The main contributions to institutional change are the contributions to more deliberative policy processes and better outcomes from these processes for community forestry development and the improved relationships between CBFM actors at local and national levels. Also the awareness that more democratic policy processes and experiential training and learning, with sustained active participation from forest communities, are critical for community forestry development, has grown considerably. The lifting of the suspension of utilization rights has provided more incentives for communities to manage their forests in a sustainable manner.

The manner in which IIRR contributed to these changes, is in itself an illustration of the type of collaborative approach that makes community forestry work. IIRR has been a partner of the DENR, the forest communities, and other stakeholders and has been instrumental in linking them together for meaningful negotiations on how to make community forestry work.

CF Outcomes

The two approaches developed and promoted by the project –PAR and 'linking people to policy'- have contributed to change in professional roles; policy revisions and processes and improvements in institutions and the relationships between actors.

In accordance with the shift in definition of 'the community forestry development problem' (from community capacity to incentives) and the corresponding shift in solution or strategy (from participatory management planning to participatory policy deliberation) the main outcomes refer to change in incentives and the design of inclusive policy deliberation processes.

Collaboration

In view of the challenging nature of the shift in problem definition, the project's effective collaboration with two of the key agencies in the forestry establishment (DENR and UPLB) as well as a range of NGOs is remarkable. It is likely that IIRR's reputation (legitimacy) as a professional international development organization contributed much to this success in collaboration. Also, IIRR was in some ways the 'new kid on the forestry block'. This may have contributed to its perceived impartiality.

Concluding observations

The active support from DENR, UPLB, RECOFTC and FAO as well as key national NGOs working in community forestry development in the Philippines is an indicator of the value of the approach developed by the project as well as its potential for future further development and application in the Philippines. In terms of options for future programming, the implications of the changes in organizational priorities at IIRR that occurred during the final days of the project, will need to be considered.

Another consideration is that the approach developed has been very well documented, with a set of training materials developed and adopted in international processes (the national forestry programs).

The conclusion of 'mission accomplished' can therefore very well be justified. As compared to the situation in Cambodia (considerable risk that IDRC withdrawal threatens fruition of earlier IDRC investments) or Nepal (major opportunity foregone), there is no such apparent justification or continuation of IDRC support in the Philippines. If for whatever reason, such support would be considered, then a thorough institutional and policy analysis would be required, to identify opportunities and options.

APPENDIX 5: CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNITY FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

The changes in process, organizations and institutions as well as the outcomes, varied considerably in the three districts in which the project worked. The changes mentioned in the table below mainly refer to one of the three districts (Kuningan in West Java). The changes in the other districts (Pandeglang in West Java and Dompu in Sumbawa) and the barriers for change will be discussed in the sections below.

TABLE 8 SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS - INDONESIA

Level	Process change	Organizational change	Institutional change	CF Outcomes
Village	7 step process for management planning and models for management agreements	Strengthened and empowered forest farmer groups	Better representation of villagers in policy dialogue	Restoration of access to CF area that was claimed for national park or otherwise restricted
District	Multi stakeholder processes to support CF development and address policy issues	-District government capacity to support NRM -SFC and FD capacity to support CF	-Multi stakeholder platform/network -More responsive and accountable district government	Effective support for CF development and representation
National	Adoption of management planning and agreements by SFC	More participation in responsiveness to local and district issues	Some contribution to new CF decrees	Effective voice from villagers and district shs in forest conservation policy

Process change

In the late 90s the conflicts between farmers and the State Forest Corporation in Java became more manifest, leading to some farmers getting killed and increased encroachment of forest land. This was also exacerbated by the political reforms furthering greater local autonomy. This also encouraged local governments to demand a greater voice in and greater share in the benefits from forest management. In Kuningan, an informal advisory working group comprising people working with the district government, the State Forest Corporation, district forest service, local NGOs and concerned individuals was formed to try to develop some strategies to address the conflicts in forest management. The working group operated on the basis of two generally accepted principles: the forest needs to be protected or rehabilitated and more people should get more benefits from forests through their active involvement. One of the proposed strategies was to allocate certain forest areas to specific villages and give these villages a greater responsibility in forest management. This suggestion was contested by the State Forest Corporation, who felt that village based management would contradict with their management regime based on production blocks.

It was in this situation that LATIN entered the area in 2000, and started to support some work on community based forest management with the working group and some members from local NGOs. A procedure for involving farmers in forest management was developed and tested in 2 villages.

The approach developed was to start off with a socio economic assessment including the variation in dependence on forest lands, and analysis of forest management issues. This was followed by formation of farmer groups (where none existed) or strengthening of existing groups. More in depth discussion and investigation of collaborative forest management issues was then to take place, including participatory mapping, inventory, development of rules and regulations, area planning and negotiation of the management plan with Perum Perhutani through a district level Advisory Working Group (comprising representatives from local government, NGOs and farmers). After agreement by

all parties in principle, the formal management agreements between Perum Perhutani and the village government (with designation of the forest area and management principles) as well as with the farmer group (with more operational guidelines for management) were prepared.

This 'seven step process' was developed in the two villages (+ 1 village facilitated by another NGO) in 2001, was replicated and refined with budget and policy support from the district governor in 16 villages in 2002, with an additional 32 villages in 2003, 40 more in 2004, and completing the process in all 134 'forest fringe villages' in Kuningan in 2005. These represent over one third of all (379) villages in Kuningan.

A similar approach was attempted in the two other districts (Pandeglang and Dompu). In Pandeglang the project and local partners developed a similar process of natural resource management planning in one village, based on intensive consultation with all villagers and facilitation of the formation of management groups. The results from the planning process were readily adopted by the district government and the State Forest Corporation but not the underlying process. This contributed to conflicts in the implementation of the management agreements, as many of the poorer villagers felt left out. The conflicts were exacerbated when the district government proposed to turn the limited production forest, where the community management agreements had been issued into a protection forest, thereby violating the community management agreements.

In Dompu, the district governor used a Ministry degree to combat illegal logging to arrest farmers who managed a forest area under a regional regulation allowing community use and management of the area. It became apparent that the reason for the arrest was that the farmers concerned had voted for the opponent of the district governor. As the governor was also accused of other acts of abuse of power and of corruption, the project and its local partners had to assist in mobilizing anti corruption investigations and providing support to the arrested farmers and their families. After arrest of the governor, the project worked with his successor to open the dialogue between communities and the district government. In a multi stakeholder seminar with participation from the Ministry of Forestry it was decided to form a community forestry working group at district level with the task to guide the implementation of the community forestry program. However, by late 2007, the district government had not followed up on the commitment to support the working group.

The different experiences in the three districts, point at the critical importance of the nature of decentralization and demonstrate both the potential (in the case of Kuningan) and the risks (in Pandeglang and Dompu) of the enhanced involvement of local government in natural resource governance and management. The shift in the project from local planning processes to multi stakeholder processes and arrangements and other aspects of organizational and institutional (forest governance) development was the project's response to these experiences. We'll discuss these in more detail under organizational and institutional development.

In terms of process development, the processes for management planning and agreements developed in Kuningan, have reportedly contributed to the State Forest Corporation's Java wide approach to community forestry development. It was noted, however, that the quality of implementation varied considerably depending on commitment and capacity of local forestry personnel and degree of involvement of local government and NGOs.

Organizational development

In Kuningan major contributions to organizational development took place at local level, through the establishment of new management groups as well the development of the organizational capacity of existing forest management groups as part of the management planning process. When the Ministry

of Forestry changed the status of a forest area, resulting in reduced access by communities with management agreements, a farmers' solidarity forum was formed. A similar federation of management groups was formed in Dompu in reaction to the arrest of forest farmers there. In Kuningan, the informal advisory group also evolved considerably into an independent organization that continued to function after the termination of the project. LPI ('project implementation institute') is recognized by the district government and involved in the implementation of various projects including continuing support to community forestry development.

It is not only the LPI members from district government, district forest service and State Forest Corporation who developed their capacities for supporting community forestry development, but also those of their colleagues involved in the project activities. Thereby, the capacity of the district government, the district forest service and the local State Forest Corporation to support community forestry development.

The other major contribution to organizational development is the development of LATIN itself. Twelve of the then 40 staff members were actively involved in the project, with other staff members contributing to specific activities such as in the preparation of publications. The greatly enhanced development research capacity is not only demonstrated by the range of project outcomes discussed here, but also by the range of high quality publications, including the final report and project publication on decentralization and forest governance.

Institutional change

As the governance focus of the project indicates, the main objectives of the project were related to bringing about institutional change, particularly at district level and where possible contributing to change in national policies and regulations.

The need for such institutional change became apparent in all three districts, in which different types of conflicts arose as a result of different institutional factors. In Kuningan, the Ministry of Forestry decided in 2006 to establish a national park in the former production forest. This seriously affected the management agreements of 26 villages. In Pandeglang, the district government effected a similar change in status of a forest area, negatively affecting the management agreements made earlier. However, here the main issue was related to the reluctance of the local branch of the State Forest Corporation to involve farmers in planning and decision making in a serious manner. The case of Dompu has been referred to already. The political conflict and corruption, pointed at even greater problems between local government and citizens than in the case of Pandeglang.

The project strategy to address these conflicts aimed in all three cases to strengthen the farmers' voice, albeit in different ways. In Kuningan, the conditions were most favourable: a supportive district government, a support organization linked to the government, district forest service, state forest corporation and local and national NGOs. The large number of villages with management agreements and the supportive environment, contributed to the formation of a farmers' forum. The trust and collaboration from the earlier community forestry development activities formed the basis for a coalition between these different district level actors to negotiate a solution with the Ministry of Forestry. The basis of that solution was the proposal to make community based management the basic management strategy for the national park. LATIN assisted the local stakeholders in the negotiations with the Ministry of Forestry, by establishing contact and regularly informing sympathetic officials. Some compromises were agreed, enabling limited use of the area, but the prohibition of cultivation (allowed in the management agreements) remained in force. After the termination of the project, the LPI and local farmers continued the negotiation. They also decided to

involve the four other districts affected by the national park establishment, and try to form a management board for the national park with representatives from the districts, including farmers using the area.

In Dompu, the local NGO and LATIN assisted arrested farmers also through facilitating involvement of national level agencies. In this case, in addition to the Ministry of Forestry this involved the anti corruption organization to resolve the problems with the district governor. They also supported a group of farmers to negotiate access to the forest after replacement of the district governor. But here as in Pandeglang, with limited success.

These different experiences lead the project to conclude that for good forest governance, decentralization needs to ensure effective community participation. The experiences in Dompu and Pandelang demonstrate the nature of the obstacles to such participation. The old bureaucratic culture with its orientation to provide services for the higher levels and it s rampant corruption, effectively prevented meaningful participation by the poorer farmers dependent on forest areas. This again results in mistrust from the community members towards government. This also happened in Kuningan, because of the central government's decision to change the status of the forest area and thereby breaking the agreements with the farmers.

But the experience at district level in Kuningan, also demonstrates the potential of decentralization for good forest governance, if the local government is accountable to its citizens, and if the central government is committed to real decentralization.

CF Outcomes

Because of the governance constraints in Dombu and Pandeglang the overall project objective (improving forest management and welfare of villagers at the forest fringe) could only be partially fulfilled. But the project team reckons that in terms of direct impact, the livelihood conditions of well over 70 000 people have been positively influenced (3000 families in Dompu, 16 000 in Kuningan and 150 in the pilot village in Pandeglang).

But of much greater longer importance is the demonstration of effective district level, multi-stakeholder support arrangements and processes, particularly in Kuningan. This demonstrates the great potential and the ways to mobilize that potential, for an effective role of local government (decentralization) in equitable and sustainable natural resource management. Of equal importance for the policy discourse are the well documented constraints for this potential in both Pandeglang and Dompu.

The adoption (albeit with various adaptations) of the participatory management planning process developed and tested in Kunigan (as well by others elsewhere) is an example of another contribution from the project to community forestry development at a 'larger scale'.

Relationships with other development actors

In the implementation of the project LATIN collaborated with some Canadian institutions as well as maintained contact with CIFOR, as also expressed by the foreword by the director of CIFOR in the final project publication (largely in Indonesian).

Moreover, informal contacts were maintained with members of the community forestry working group.

The main forms of collaboration with the greatest impact were established with selected officials from the Ministry of Forestry and from the State Forest Corporation (Perum Perhutani) at district, province and national level.

The relationships with donor organizations changed during the course of the project, because of changes in policy of most donors, who in line with the decentralization channel more of their support to local levels, bypassing national NGOs, and there is also a decline in support for community forestry. This has contributed to a considerable decline in the number of staff working with LATIN, from about 40 in 2006, to 15 at present.

Concluding observations

In view of the great potential of the decentralization in Indonesia to address the key challenges in forest policy and management, the importance of the work done by LATIN is widely recognized and appreciated. There is also a great need for more work on this, particularly in the less densely populated and more forested areas outside Java. The experiences and capacity developed by LATIN would form a solid basis for such future work, particularly if effective collaboration and coordination with organizations also working on this such as CIFOR, community forestry working group and FKKM could be established.

The changes in LATIN's organizational position and the dynamic policy and institutional environment in Indonesia, would (just as in the case of the Philippines discussed earlier) require an assessment of the policy and institutional conditions, so as to determine the feasibility and nature of both partners and focus of a future project with IDRC support.

APPENDIX 6: RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNITY FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM

The process, organizational and institutional change framework used to present contributions to community forestry development in the projects presented earlier is not appropriate for this project in which the results of only the first (research) stage of the project (ending in 2011) are presented.

These research findings pertain to property rights in forest, agricultural and 'unused' land, aquatic resources and the changes in property rights in community forestry. For each of these categories, field research was carried out in selected communes, the role of local government investigated and national policies analyzed.

TABLE 9 SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS - VIETNAM

Level	Agricultural & Unclassified Land Rights	Forest Rights	Change in rights through community forestry
Village	-Agricultural land is privately owned; also unclassified land used for agriculture and grazing -Unclassified land is uncultivable land -Villagers decide change of land use	-Land owned as long as used; including fallows -NTFPs ownership based on 'discovery'	-Customary practices continued -New responsibilities (patrols) ignored
Local Government	-Responsible for managing land allocated to commune -Assists in conflict management	-Manages contracts for forest protection	-Assists in preparing CF regulations
National policy	-Agricultural land is owned by people; used by individuals for 20 to 50 years -Unclassified land is land for which purpose has not been officially designated -State authorizes change of land use	-Owned and managed by the state -Management and protection contracted to local government and villagers	-Rights and responsibilities for management and protection of forest to be handed over to communities -State permission required in exercising local rights of use and management

The Research Plan

The project's research plan comprises three stages:

1. Learning and sharing about common pool resources and property rights, focusing on forest cover changes and management, agricultural and unclassified land, fish resources, and community forestry. This stage was planned for the first year. The results of this stage of the project were available at the time of writing this report.

2. Based on the results of the first stage, specific issues for further investigation were to be identified, related to local institutions and livelihoods. The implications from the research of these issues on the management arrangements for common pool resources would also be further investigated. The results from this stage, with a planned duration of 1.5 years, were not yet available at the time of writing this report.

3. The third stage, planned for the last half year of the project will focus on the implications and recommendations for policy and for the analytical framework for research on common pool resources in Vietnam.

The main findings from the first stage related to land and forest are reported below.

Agricultural land, unclassified land & fish

The commune in which the study was carried out borders Laos. Hong Bac commune is one of the poorest communes in the district (68 % of the households are classified as poor) and almost all belong to the Paco ethnic minority. The area of the commune is 3153 ha, 2352 ha of which is forested, 351 ha agricultural land, and 277 ha is not classified. There are 436 households in the commune, with a total population of 1920.

The land law of 2003 stipulates that for specific changes in land use (from paddy to forest or aqua-culture; from forest to other use; from agriculture to non-agricultural purposes; and for use of economic or residential purposes) government permission is required. The land law of 2003, also specifies that unclassified land is land for which the land use has not been (officially) determined. The criteria for identification of agricultural land are clear to both villagers, local and district officials. This is not the case for unclassified land. Land management officials at commune and district level understand the concept of unclassified land, as defined in the land law, but they cannot identify those lands on the map or on the ground. Farmers have a different understanding of unclassified land. For them these are lands that are not fit for cultivation purposes ('uncultivable land'), because of access constraints (in the high mountains) or because of physical conditions (such as rocks without topsoil). From 2000 to 2008, the area of unclassified land has decreased continuously: from 850 ha to 275 ha. Some of this change was a result of government re-classification from unclassified to forestry land, some of it a result of local people cultivating unclassified land. Local farmers initiate the cultivation and then after a few years request for a land use certificate, which is usually granted by the authorities. Of the 275 ha presently left unclassified, most is rocky (uncultivable) land high in the mountains. There is 106 ha cultivable unclassified land left which local people would in principle be interested to exploit, but there are various constraints. Because of the hilly terrain these lands are difficult to access, and require considerable initial investment. Also the boundary of these lands with the forest area is unclear, and therefore people think that the area may be controlled by the forest department. The other effect of the unclear boundaries between forest and unclassified land is that much of the forest land near the villages is used for growing upland rice, cassava and acacia. The administration of the unclassified land is the responsibility of the commune people's committee, whereas the administration of the agricultural land is assigned to the commune level agricultural and land administration officials under the supervision of the district office of natural resources and environment. They allocate the paddy area (1000-2500 m^2 per household), whereas the area for upland fields has only been demarcated at district level, and no land use certificates have been issued for these. Most local farmers are not very concerned about these, as their property rights to upland fields are well respected.

Te government is presently surveying the upland areas so as to enable the issue of land use certificates. This will regularize existing land use and property. Local farmers are not involved in this work and do not see much use for it.

In investigating the 'bundle of rights' with regard to both agricultural and non classified lands, differences between government/legal and local categories and practices became clearer.

BOX 6 BUNDLE OF RIGHTS

- Access: Right to enter a defined area & enjoy non-subtractive benefits
- Withdrawal: Right to obtain units or products of a resource system
- Management: Right to regulate internal use patterns and transform the resource by making improvements
- Exclusion: Right to determine who will have an access right, and how it is transferred
- Alienation: Right to sell or lease above rights

Source: Ho and Le, 2009

Everybody has the right of access to each others' agricultural and unclassified land as a matter of course, as long as no damage is done to the crops. Local people reported that in case of damage compensation would be required, but that this never happened as people are much aware and respect each others' property rights.

For the rights of withdrawal, for farmers it is obvious that they can exploit their land and enjoy all the benefits deriving from it. Since 2005, the government no longer charges any fees or taxes on land. Other people can use farmer's lands, for 1 or 2 years, free of charge, usually based on kinship or clan relationships. Unclassified unclaimed lands can also be used for grazing, but unclassified lands used or claimed by others cannot be used for that purpose. There are households interested in expanding animal husbandry but without access to grazing lands and others with much grazing lands and few animals. This represents a constraint in the expansion of animal husbandry which could be a good option for development in the area.

The research team presents their findings on the 'right of management' by presenting their findings about land administration[21]. The government considers it its duty to administer the land, local farmers do not see the need for this as they have already set the boundaries of their land. And if the government allocates the land for 20 years, the farmers consider that this will remain their land forever (until they sell it or give it away).

For the rights of exclusion, local people recognize this right in the sense that other people have no right to invade upon their lands or exploit their lands without permission. The government's rights of exclusion are based on the land law, with the land use changes that require authorization from the government. This is enforced, local people perceive that it is their right to change the use of their unclassified land as they see fit.

The same applies for the right of alienation or transfer.

The conclusion on the land rights for agricultural and unclassified lands is that the formal (government) regulations and the local customary rules co-exist peacefully, largely because the customary rules effectively guide people's behaviour. The government applies its regulations in a flexible manner and does not enforce them. But there some effects from this co-existence that are less positive. E.g., villagers used to prohibit cultivation in certain forest areas. If somebody violated this rule, then graduated sanctions were applied, like a chicken or pig for a minor infraction and an ox for a major one. Nowadays the government has set a fine of VND 1.5 to 2 million for deforestation. But this does not act as a deterrent, if people were to be fined there would be no way they could pay the fine. The old forest protection system, however, no longer exists.

Similarly for the issue of land use certificates (for 20 years for agricultural land), farmers continue to consider the land they are –temporarily- allowed to use, as the land they -permanently- own.

The greatest risk to a continuing peaceful co-existence of the formal and informal systems is when government would initiate development activities, such as forest land allocation, based on the formal system, as explored in other research activities focused on forest and community forestry.

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[21] Note that one of the key development objectives of the project is to contribute to a more effective process for forest land use planning and allocation. Also see the linkages between land use planning and community forestry mentioned in the cases of Cambodia, Indonesia, and Nepal (NRM planning). This indicates the need to address the 'rights of land/resource administration' when applying this 'bundles of rights' approach to community forestry development.

The team also investigated the rights to water and fish in Phu Vinh commune. The team found that only 2 households relied on fishing as their main livelihood, but that there were many more who fish occasionally for subsistence purposes. The fish production in rivers and lakes had declined considerably after 1990. The main reasons for the decline appeared to be the use of destructive (electricity and explosives) fishing practices, decline in access to lakes and reservoirs as these are leased to individuals, establishment of a dam for hydro electricity affecting the water flow and quality, and degradation as a result of road construction.

The main development activity in fish production is the rapid expansion of fish ponds. From 2003 to 2008, the number of ponds grew from 18 to 48. In addition to the ready market for fish, and ease of management, the expansion is also related to an aqua-culture project providing subsidies for pond digging and fingerlings. Another incentive for pond construction is as a claim to land ownership as in the case of the families digging ponds in the commune lands that are slated for allocation to households.

Forest cover change in Phu Vinh 1989-2009

Phu Vinh commune is a new commune established at the present location in 1986 as a result of the new economic zone program intended to assist people to migrate from the densely populated lowlands to the sparsely populated uplands. The commune has 212 households with a population of 1040, 67 % of which are from the Kinh majority.

Based on analysis and comparison of satellite images the main changes in land cover between 1989 and 2009 were established.

TABLE 9 LAND COVER CHANGES IN PHU VINH, 1989-2009

	1989	2001	2005	2009
Forest	1712.1	1907.0	2116.0	2054.6
Shrub	1019.2	844.8	591.7	180.3
Bare land	79.6	59.4	103.1	575.9
Total	2810.8	2811.2	2810.8	2810.8

Source: Ho and Le, 2009.

As the table demonstrates, the forest cover has increased considerably from 1989 to 2005, with a slight decline after 2005. Also the bare land (shifting cultivation plots and land with vegetation lower than 2 meters) has increased considerably, particularly after 2005. The vegetation that has decreased is the shrubs.

The main reason for increase of forest and decrease of shrub is natural regeneration, likely caused by decrease in shifting cultivation, after 1989. An additional reason for the decrease in shrub area is the planting of acacia in recent years under various reforestation programs.

The reason for the increase in bare land (and recent small decrease in forest) is the allocation of pine forest to Phu Vinh community. The pine forest has been clear cut and replaced by acacia and this shows up as bare land. Another reason is the construction of a hydro-power station for which 270 ha was cut.

The species composition of the forest has changed as well. Valuable timber species used to be found not too far away from the villages. Nowadays these can be found 6 to 8 km away.

In terms of property rights, only 5 % of the commune's area is private property, 19 % is commune property and the remaining 77 % is state property managed by the district forest management board.

The 523 ha of commune land was handed over by the district forest management board to the commune people's committee in 2007. The plan is to allocate these lands to households, and thus this land will in due time be private land.

Legally the use of forest areas by villagers is severely restricted. In practice local people use the forest for a wide range of purposes: for timber, firewood, non-timber forest products, hunting and shifting cultivation.

Timber cutters and hunters organize week long trips to the forest. They can get access to almost the whole forest area, to identify valuable timber and animals for hunting. Less organized, regular use of forest involves almost all villagers. They go to the forest to collect food, feed, firewood and NTFPs. They find what they need at a distance of about 1 km from the road or 200 m from the stream, in steeper terrain. These trips usually last about half a day.

The restrictions on shifting cultivation introduced in 1990 have contributed to a considerable decline in number of households still practicing it. In 2008, it was reported that only 4 households in the commune still practiced shifting cultivation. The loss of income has been compensated by intensification of agricultural production, home garden development, plantation establishment, trading and employment as hired labour.

Property rights in community forestry

The purpose of this study was to identify what changes occur in property rights as a result of the introduction of community forest management. For that purpose the team compared situation in a village where community forest management had been introduced with a situation in which that had not yet happened.

Both villages are located in Hong Ha commune. The CFM village (Kan Sam) has 40 households all belonging to the same ethnic minority group, the non-CFM village has 75 households from different ethnic groups. In both villages land for paddy cultivation is very limited, and swidden land is of low fertility.

The actors involved in allocating forest to communities include: local government; government line agencies, user groups and NGO (and sometimes private sector organizations). The incentives for support to community forestry development vary considerably:

Local -commune and district- government are under considerable pressure from national government to protect the environment. Thus their main interest in community forestry is as a strategy to reduce deforestation, and even more to involve local people in the restoration of degraded forest areas. As little support is provided by local government after handing over the management responsibility to farmers , this represents a low cost strategy for the local local government to -be seen to- protect and rehabilitate natural forest areas in the commune. Moreover as the community forestry projects in the area were foreign assisted pilot projects, local government officials are keen to demonstrate their competence in these relatively high profile activities.

For the provincial government agencies, incentives differ. The Forest Protection Unit, is eager to be involved in this because they receive many benefits from the foreign assistance project, including skills in community forestry development. This is perceived as beneficial even though their main tasks are related to law enforcement.

The district Natural Resources and Environment office did not receive many incentives. Their involvement in community forestry development is more a result of the mandate and pressure from the district people's committee.

The motivation of the community to be involved in the natural forest allocation process appears to be related to the official recognition of some of their customary rights, and the technical assistance (limited training and extension support) provided by the Green Corridor project.

The Green Corridor Project is a WWF initiative, with support from the World Bank, GEF, and SNV. Their main interest is to get local communities to support conservation initiatives, through enhancing contributions from natural resources to local livelihoods, amongst others.

Before 1994 and the 'institutional renovation policy' of that time, the management of all natural forests was assigned to the provincial forest enterprise, since then called 'forest management board', or 'watershed forest management board'. This reflects a shift in the implementation of management activities, and the increasing involvement of communes and villagers in forest management.

The responsibility of protection and management of forests that have not been assigned to any agency is assigned by the provincial management board to the commune people's committee. Most of the forest is however assigned to the provincial watershed forest management board, who contracts villagers at 3 USD/year, to patrol the forest, and refrain from cutting trees for timber, hunting or cultivation.

This dual protection system (through people's committee and protection contracts) existed in both Kam San and Pahy village. Through the introduction of community forest management, the formal rights in Kam San changed. The Forest Protection Unit facilitated a process in which:

1. villagers prepare a regulatory framework for the protection and management of the forest. The rules include: what has to be done; what is permitted; what is encouraged; what cannot be done; the rights and responsibilities of the villagers; incentives and sanctions; and provisions for implementation of the rules.

2. the draft rules and regulations are consolidated in a workshop with key officials from the commune, the village head, senior villagers and representatives of the villagers.

3. the proposed rules and regulations are then presented to all villagers for comments and approval.

4. the head of the village submits the regulations to the commune people's committee, the chairman of the people's committee signs it and submits it to the chairman of the district people's committee for final decision and approval.

5. after approval from the district people's committee, the village head holds a meeting with all villagers to disseminate the village regulations.

The Kam San villagers' rights of access, withdrawal, management and exclusion are spelled out in the regulations, as follows:

- *Right of access*: everyone has the right to walk in the forest, for 'recreation purposes',
- *Right of withdrawal*: villagers have the right to gather NTFPs such as rattan, bamboo shoot, mushroom, leaves, vegetables, medicinal plants, and so on. But they are not allowed to hunt

or trap wildlife; or to cut wood for firewood or timber. For wood products, the village has to make an annual harvesting plan in accordance with the benefit sharing principles stipulated by the village's forest protection and management regulation, and forward the plan to the Commune People's Committee for approval. A representative from the Forest Protection Unit and the head of village subsequently visit the location and verify the number of, and types of trees to be harvested, the harvesting method and the transportation of wood, all to be carried out in such a way that the protective function of the forest is harmed as little as possible. They are then to make a report, which is appraised by the Agriculture and Rural Development Office (ARDO), and finally submit the plan to the District People's Committee with a request to grant a permit for logging. The village has to ask the Forest Protection Unit for checking and stamping before logging, transport for processing or sale.

- *Right of management*: Villagers have the right to plant trees (acacia species, indigenous species, NTFP species, agricultural crops) in bare land within the forest allocated to the village; to thin forest, and to enrich forest; to use the land for grazing of domestic animals and also for other purposes as long as the activities are conducive to the continued growth of the forest. The villagers are also allowed to use a part of allocated forestry land without forest cover for agricultural production, but to maximum of 20% of he area.
- *Right of exclusion*: villagers should patrol the allocated forest to control violations of the regulations. When the villagers detect violators, they have to report this to the Forest Protection Unit or the Commune People's Committee for them to take action.

In addition to the responsibilities for the management and development of the forest, the villagers need to fulfill all financial obligations as per the relevant laws.

By comparing the practices, reflecting the informal rights in both villages, the team found that the practices in both villages were still the same.

Villagers in both villages, continue to cut timber for house construction, furniture, coffins, sheds, etc. as well as for sale, without seeing the need for asking permission for that from the authorities. Villagers select the best trees for house construction and then hire sawyers to cut timber and saw in the forests, and then transport the sawn timber by buffalo traction to the village. Also in Kan Sam village, outsiders continue to cut timber in the forest allocated to the village.

Villagers from both villages also report that they continue to gather NTFPs as they used to do. NTFPs are claimed as the property by the people who find them. If somebody detects NTFPs, then they have right to gather it. For instance, if a villager detects a beehive, a branch is put pointing at the hive as an ownership marker. Then, although nobody has exploited it yet, anyone would recognize that the beehive has an owner, and refrain from harvesting. Also local people continue to trap wildlife although that is strictly prohibited. They also fish in the streams in forest for their own consumption or for sale.

Villagers also continue to practice shifting cultivation, albeit less than in the past. Formerly, when slash-and-burn was the principal farming technique, land that was not planted with a crop was allowed to lie uncultivated. After seven to ten years people came back and cut it down once again, burned the site and planted for a season, went through a cycle of crop rotation for a second time, and then the third. In recent years, as a result of both population growth and government prohibitions of slash-and-burn, the villagers have used such land to plant trees like Acacia or rubber tree inter-planted with cassava. However, villagers still do plant some upland rice in swidden land in allocated forest, mainly for use in traditional festivals.

The research team investigated the reasons why villagers in Kan Sam, did not exercise some of their formal rights and responsibilities in practice and continued to carry out prohibited activities:

One reason is related to the limited authority villagers have to enforce the agreed regulations. They do not have he authority to apply sanctions to those -from the village or outsiders- who violate the rules. But also the authorities, both from the commune and from the Forest Protection Unit, are constrained in assisting villagers to enforce the rules, due to resource and manpower constraints. Also as there is no compensation for patrolling the forest, villagers have stopped doing it.

Another reason is related to power relationships. Most people cutting timber for sale are well connected to local authorities. It is impossible for ordinary villagers to control them.

A third reason is related to changing and conflicting perceptions of the best strategy for governing and managing the forest. Older people consider the forest as common property, to be developed through enrichment planting of indigenous timber species for house construction in the future. Many younger villagers prefer to distribute deforested land to households for planting fast growing species such as acacia for commercial purposes. This difference of opinion has delayed the envisaged allocation and development of deforested lands.

These findings suggest that for community forestry to become effective, considerable change in its planning and implementation will need to be made. First of all, there is a need to better understand the existing, customary practices as well as the changes therein as the basis for crafting local governance and management arrangements.

A second change required is to create a better balance between local authority and responsibilities. But even if there was greater local authority, the findings also indicate that considerable external support will be required to assist villagers in gradually developing more effective local arrangements for governance, management and benefit sharing.

Concluding observations

The main reason for the more detailed description of the research activities is that the 'action' part of the project had not started yet at the time of this study. A more detailed description of research approaches and findings could have been presented in the descriptions of most of the other projects. Particularly the research reports from the Nepal project are similar in depth, albeit with a different focus. Most of the other projects pursued more of an action research approach, and in addition we focused more on the contributions to change and less on the research activities.

The research from the Hue University project could inspire future programming. Its focus on studying local informal institutions as a basis for comparison with what is proposed in formal institutions, and particularly the interaction between both, could be a relevant starting point for many community forestry development research projects.

APPENDIX 7: CONTRIBUTIONS TO AGRO-FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT IN NAGALAND

This project differs considerably from the earlier discussed ones as the main emphasis here was on one of the three characteristics of community forestry, i.e, in this case, to provide social and economic benefits from forest lands to local communities. And more from forest fallows than from the old growth forest. Transfer of authority and responsibility was much less of an issue as customary management of forest lands is well established and respected in Nagaland, and the maintenance of forest health was not a major objective in the project.

Another notable difference with all other projects discussed is the administrative arrangement for project management. A project operations unit (POU) was established by the State Chief Secretary, with representation from all relevant line agencies. This arrangement secured government support and greatly facilitated the development of organizational capacity and institutionalization of project innovations.

A third difference with many of the other projects discussed is the long duration of the project, starting in 1994 and ending in late 2007.

TABLE 10 SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS - NAGALAND

Level	Process change	Organizational change	Institutional change	AF Outcomes
Village	Participatory processes at village level	women groups farmer groups village development board enterprise groups	Development role of village authorities	Greater benefits from cultivation of fallow lands More intensive agricultural production Fallow management
District	Participatory processes at district level	Inter-agency project support	Responsive to villagers needs	Effective inter agency support arrangements
State	Inter agency demonstration of good governance	Inter-agency collaboration Effective development support arrangements	Stronger basis for adapting national policies to state realities, e.g., biodiversity act.	Effective horizontal and vertical coordination and support

Process change

After the first phase of the project in which test plots were established in fallow lands of almost all villages in Nagaland, greater emphasis was laid on empowerment of the village councils and village development boards, as the key institutions in planning and implementation. Starting in 2001, the approach became more decentralized and participatory with more intensive consultation of farmers. Farmers were encouraged to plant shade tolerant cash crops in their tree plantations, including crops such as cardamom, ginger, black pepper, betel vine and passion fruit, for which a market demand had been established.

A revolving fund was introduced to support farmers to develop their cropping systems. The fund was managed by the village councils and village development boards, with 25 % earmarked for use by women. Farmers were also supported in setting up self help groups and marketing boards. The need for appropriate processing techniques to enable farmers to add value to their products, was identified and in some cases successfully implemented, but proved difficult to in many other cases.

In the third phase (starting in 2006 in 63 villages) activities included afforestation of fallow lands through assisted natural regeneration, plantation of fruit trees and cash crops that have a high demand in the market, improving livelihoods through animal husbandry (pigs, poultry, goats, bees),

supporting improved homegarden production and terraced rice fields, soil and water conservation in swiddens and strengthening community forest conservation.

The development of sustainable cropping systems aimed at extending the cropping phase in the swidden cycle. The State Agricultural Research Station had developed models for different cover crops (legumes), to extend the cropping phase from the usual two to three or four years (followed by a fallow period of 7 to 20 years). The models were field tested through on farm trials in 8 districts. In all districts farmers appreciated the legume crops, but had problems with other aspects of the model. They reported labour problems for the more intensive weeding required, but there were also other issues that constrained the adoption of the model(s). It appeared that the model was most likely to be adopted in places where the fallow period has dropped below 4 years, as weeding problems then need to be addressed anyhow. Other constraints include the need for all farmers cultivating in a certain area to adopt the model as collective action is required in the maintenance of foot paths, and protection from livestock.

Earlier work had shown that many farmers were already developing and testing their own innovations in response to the shortening fallow cycles. Seven such innovations were studied and documented, and incorporated in the design of on farm trials elsewhere.

The efforts to improve during the cropping phase were complemented by efforts to enhance the productivity of the fallow phase of the cycle. As the fallow period shortens, soil fertility declines and weed infestation becomes more of a problem. Research activities to address these problems included (off and on farm) trials on the use of *Tithonia spp.* (a shrub used for green manure) to enhance soil fertility, the use of salt as a herbicide, and a study of weeds at different altitudes. Another study looked at the management and use of multi-purpose trees in swidden fields, as well as in forest lands. The study found that there were many customary management systems and practices that are now disappearing because of commercial exploitation of the forest. There is a great need for further study of customary forest and tree management systems and practices as a basis for the development of better forest management systems and practices. The same applies for the domestication of some NTFPs that have a ready market.

To add value to the products from both the improved cropping systems and the improved fallow management, research and development of marketing systems was undertaken. Studies were done to investigate how farmers were at present selling crops such as cardamom, passion fruit, French beans, turmeric, and pineapple. In assessing the market chain, data on supply, quality, characteristics, market demands, market channels, and economic valuation at different points, transport required and inputs were gathered. The results of the studies indicated that the shade tolerant crops that NEPED promoted for environmental reasons, were not necessarily the crops with the highest returns for farmers. In some cases chilli or pig raising fetched better returns. For the value addition of shade tolerant crops different opportunities for adding value for different crops were identified. Organic certification was explored, new trading outlets established, and improved processing practices identified. The feasibility of introducing village level processing proved problematic for almost all products.

Another set of activities to explore value addition focused on the 8 million trees planted in the first phase of the project. Thinning needed to be done in many cases, but the transportation of logs and poles to markets outside the state was constrained by the transport restrictions imposed by the Ministry of Environment and Forests. Many farmers did sell trees at local markets, but many also burned them as part of the shifting cultivation cycle.

Yet another study looked at farmers' management practices of trees in fallow lands, leading to the conclusion that farmers' practices in assisted natural regeneration were likely more effective than the afforestation packages provided by government agencies.

The project also investigated the profitability of timber production for the village. The result of the case study looking at this showed that most of the benefit went to the timber transporter and buyer (timber depot), and that villagers did not benefit much from timber production from old growth forest.

The general trend in all of these processes is that they gradually intensified the involvement of farmers, village leaders and village development board, and that more diagnostic research was carried out to guide the design of interventions.

Organizational development

In line with the development of the participatory development research processes, the project increasingly supported the development of village level organizations in the form of farmer groups, micro credit groups, product marketing networks, and women groups. This was complemented by involving villagers, leaders and the village development board in the planning and implementation of activities including the support to the various village groups.

At district level a similar inter agency support arrangement (in the form of district project teams) was developed as a state level.

The project operations unit at state level comprised staff from 11 different line agencies. The NEPED inter agency team arrangement continued operating after the termination of the project in 2007, albeit with a different focus (energy development) and with less staff (from fewer agencies).

The State Agricultural Research Station has benefited from its participation in -particularly the earlier phases of- the project. Its capacity for design and implementation of more participatory and adaptive on farm research has evolved albeit in the later stages of the project to a lesser extent than expected.

Institutional development

The main contribution from the project to institutional development is the institutionalization of a participatory approach based on customary practices through an inter-agency ('whole of government') approach. The enhanced capacity and understanding of problems and solutions appropriate for the specific conditions of Nagaland has enabled the state government to successfully advocate for adaptation in the design and adaptation of national policies and regulations as in the example of the biodiversity act. The institutional innovations are well known in other parts of India and are a source of inspiration for advocates of more adaptive approaches in rural resource development.

Agro-forestry outcomes

The agro forestry systems and practices to develop rather than prohibit shifting cultivation have demonstrated to be effective in increasing the productivity of the system in an ecologically sustainable manner. The additional interventions in marketing and micro credit have made some contribution to increase farmers' income. Farmers' (including women) groups have strengthened the organizational capacity at village level and form a basis for other development activities.

Inter-agency, multi level support arrangements have continued after the termination of the project, demonstrating their institutionalization.

Concluding observations

In view of the duration of the project and the institutionalization of its arrangements and achievements, the termination of project support appears justified.

The NEPED team is exploring ways and means to address the management of the remaining forested areas (beyond the fallow lands). In view of the customary arrangements and the pressure on these from both the 'internal' population growth and socio-economic and cultural changes as well as the external pressure from national government policies development research support would be highly relevant. Also from an international perspective this type of community forestry support could contribute much to the growing repertoire of community forestry knowledge and strategies under different conditions.